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**1. Die Entwicklung der Protestantischen Theologie in Deutschland seit Kant, und in Grossbritannien seit 1825.**

*Von Dr Otto Pfleiderer. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. vii., 496. M. 10.*

**2. The Development of Theology in Germany since Kant, and its Progress in Great Britain since 1825.**

*By Otto Pfleiderer, D.D. London: Swan Sonnenschein. Royal 8vo, pp. xi., 403. Price 10s. 6d.*

**3. Die Ritschl'sche Theologie kritisch beleuchtet.**

*Von Otto Pfleiderer. Braunschweig: C. A. Schwetschke u. Sohn. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii., 139. M. 4.*

THE third of these books may be regarded as an appendix to the other two, and these two are respectively the German and English versions of one work, though, as we shall yet see, the versions differ considerably. Professor Pfleiderer is well qualified for the task he here essays—viz., to be the interpreter of German theology to English students, and of English theology to German. He knows his own field as cultivated by his own people; while his most characteristic work has been in the department of Biblical theology, yet the most meritorious portions of his *Religionsphilosophie* were those concerned with the history and criticism of German religious thought. And he knows us, or ought to know us, for this is the second work he has expressly written for the instruction of our insular ignorance. Yet these two are his least satisfactory books, and are marked by the defects of work done to order; they want the fresh, thorough, sympathetic treatment which distinguished what he had spontaneously undertaken. Of course, Pfleiderer is too independent and penetrating a critic to write a feeble or ineffective book; but a vigorous book may yet be quite unworthy of both subject and author. The field, so far as it relates to German theology, has been well tilled, and by men of all schools and tendencies. It more than once exercised the fertile and analytic genius of Baur, and the caustic yet graphic pen of Schwartz; Kahnis admonished the theology of his own day by writing its history; and Dorner, by

doing the same thing, tried to encourage and direct theology. Pünjer exhibited the attempts of the modern mind to construct a philosophy of religion; and Landerer sketched its dealings with Dogmatics. Indeed, the end of the century has been very much a history and criticism of the philosophies that reigned at its beginning, and the consequent theologies of its middle period. And in this a real need is expressed—the need of detaching the vital and permanent ideas of the transcendental movement from what was accidental and mortal in their form, and of appreciating at once the change they effected in theology, and the gain they brought to it. This is a work which has not yet been done in a really historical spirit, and Pfeiderer's book has not made it any less necessary.

The German edition is a great improvement on the English. It is corrected, enlarged, and brought down to date. A new chapter is added, *Die Restaurationstheologie*—i.e., the theology of the Lutheran revival—and into it Ch. von Hofmann has been removed from his old anomalous position, where he stood as an "eclectic mediating theologian" sandwiched between Lange and Schenkel; while places have been found for Harms, Hengstenberg, Thomasius, Philippi, Gess, Frank, Tholuck, and Beck. This indicates a considerable change in the writer; he has departed from his rather narrow idea of development, and approximated more to the notion of a history, with the result that he does his thesis more justice. If "development" be a living process, then the study of it must be the study of a science in all the fields and branches of its activity. Movement, in a matter so complex as thought, is not uniform, even though in all the sections of its serried yet advancing lines the same tendencies may be more or less embodied. So no historian can exhibit the "development" of theology as Pfeiderer appears to have meant to do, as a sort of logical process, explicative and deductive, starting from certain premisses and working to certain conclusions; to the historian it is a process biological rather than logical—i.e., a process where many distinct yet related organisms, all conditioned by their environment, struggle for life. And in order to live, there are some who will endeavour to modify the old into harmony with the new; others will seek to incorporate the new in the forms of the old; and others still will think they best resist all change by standing by old forms. But these, as all belonging to the life of theology, all contribute to its development; and Pfeiderer, by his new chapter on the *Restaurationstheologie*, recognises this truth within his own period, and confesses that the Lutheran revival was as lineal a descendant of the new philosophy as any one of the speculative theologies. But this ought to have carried him much further. He has nothing to say of the new Catholicism; yet Franz Baader was but a more mystic and theosophic Schelling; Möhler owed more to

Hegel and Schleiermacher than to any thinker of his own Church ; and the school of the Catholic Hegelians has as distinctive and distinguished a career as any in Germany. To omit all reference to them is, therefore, to write a one-sided and defective history of theology in our century.

But other changes and improvements in the German edition may be noted. Rothe has been removed from the speculative theology to the more congenial society of the Vermittlers, while a brief reference is introduced to the *Anfänge* ; and the *Theologische Ethik* is happily described as a work that may challenge comparison with Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*. But the sketch is still wanting in completeness ; the *Anfänge* had higher significance than was due to its theory of the Episcopate, while Rothe's method in Church history and attitude to dogmatic were too characteristic to be overlooked. Rothe's strength, it is said, "lay more in the heart and the imagination than in the critical understanding ;" but his imagination had the insight and the realism that made it often more helpful to critical students than almost all the pragmatic criticism of the period. Of the men more adequately noticed in the German edition we may mention the following :—Wilhelm Vatke, by virtue of his *Freiheitslehre*, now takes his place among the speculative theologians, while before he was dealt with only as a critic, but the precise value of his speculative for his critical views ought to have been more clearly indicated. The relation between them, indeed, was a signal illustration of how easily a philosophical theory may become an historical hypothesis that anticipates inquiry, and is later confirmed by the inquiry it had anticipated. The sentences that are added to the account of Biedermann complete what is perhaps the most sympathetic and genial characterisation in the book ; while Reuss is now recognised in his significance for the criticism of the New as well as the Old Testament. The many-sided and always acute yet sober-minded activity of Hase—is more memorable to many as the last professor of the old style—is more worthily appreciated ; while the erudition and dogmatic thoroughness that lay beneath Julius Müller's scholasticism are not, as in the English version, dismissed in a short, shabby, inaccurate sentence. Finally, the importance of Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte* is acknowledged in a much more detailed exposition and criticism, frank alike in the recognition of its merits and defects.

When we turn to the English part we find similar additions, but mainly in the way of bringing it down to date. *Lux Mundi* is noticed, and its concessions to inquiry described as the fruit of "a happy illusion, which gave the High Church editor courage to dare the first step in the path of historical criticism. The rest will follow." Hatch's *Hibbert Lectures*, Cheyne's *Bampton Lectures*, and

Carpenter's *Three First Gospels* are also noted. As a whole, this is the least satisfactory part of the book ; and for us it would have been, if well done, by far the most interesting and valuable. We need to see ourselves as others see us—only the others must be those who see us as a whole, and so in living perspective, and not simply in fragments and apart. There is something almost grotesque in the proportions of some of Pfleiderer's representations and judgments. Neither Driver nor Sanday is mentioned, but Carpenter's little book on the Gospels has two and a half pages all to itself. The late Bishop Lightfoot has less than half a page, and Westcott very little more, but "Supernatural Religion" occupies two pages. It is as a mere appendix to the latter work that Lightfoot appears ; there is no word as to the significance of his "Apostolic Fathers" or his "Commentaries." This is the more extraordinary, as no works by an English scholar have received so cordial and unqualified recognition in Germany, and none so strikingly exhibit the influence of German scholarship in England. They have many most manifest defects ; they are too polemical to be fairly critical, the mass and masterliness of their learning have overborne judgment rather than carried conviction ; but they are by far so much the most eminent and characteristic works of English theological learning in our day, that the omission of all reference to them is fatal to the adequacy or accuracy of Pfleiderer's sketch. Were we to attempt an enumeration of the minor oversights, this notice would become too like a wearisome catalogue of names. But I must be allowed to express my regret that there is no reference to one who did so much to liberalise the theology of Scotland as Dr James Morison, or to one who could amid unreasoning fear write so reasonably of German theology as Mark Pattison. On the whole, this section of the book shows Pfleiderer at his weakest ; where his sympathies are not enlisted, his judgment becomes partial. He understands theology when cultivated within the traditions of the chair and in independence of the Church, but he does not so well understand it when cultivated through loyalty to the Church, and in independence of the chair. It is characteristic of the two countries, that in England differences of religious thought bear ecclesiastical names, but in Germany their names are theological. Here we have High Church, Low Church, Broad Church ; there they have "Die Speculative Theologie," "Die Restaurationstheologie," "Die Vermittlungstheologie." And these differences express the radically dissimilar tempers and minds of the two countries. To the English mind the fundamental question is one of polity ; to the German, one of thought and belief. The former articulates his creed into a theory of the Church, but the latter constructs his into a theology. The Englishman can seldom be just to Germany, because it will not fall into any of his ecclesi-

astical categories; and Pfleiderer is an example of how hard the German feels it to understand England, because it does not follow his theological method. But the function of the international scholar is to make divided peoples intelligible to each other. An admirable example of what may be accomplished on this field, was given by a scholar and critic of a very different school from Pfleiderer—Lechler, in the essay on Anglo-Catholicism, he contributed just fifty years ago to the *Studien und Kritiken*. Its critical weight was largely due to the reality of its religious sympathy. All the more do we regret the defects of Pfleiderer's section on theology in Great Britain, because it will do so little to lessen the confusion as to our insular mind in the mind of the Fatherland. But why should the work have been limited to these two countries? Have not both Holland and France a right to recognition? Surely a book dealing with the "Development of Theology" leaves out some essential chapters if these are forgotten. Scholten in dogmatic theology, and Kuenen in Old Testament criticism, Rauwenhoff in the philosophy of religion, and Tiele, Dozy, Kern, and the younger Chantepie de la Saussaye in its history, ought not to be passed over in silence; while Renan deserves more than a note, the school of Strassburg had more than a single name, its Paris successor is not officered by obscurities, and the ancient Seminary of Montauban is not without illustrious sons. Indeed, the defect of Pfleiderer's book is due to his failure to feel the community of all our modern theologies. No country is now isolated, insular prejudice is every day becoming more powerless against international intercourse, and to the penetrative eye even the High Church movements of England stand in organic connexion with the speculative spirit and critical tendencies of Germany.

All that my space allows me to say of the brochure on "The Theology of Ritschl" is that it is a penetrative criticism of a system that attempts to make up for its speculative agnosticism by its historical acuteness and activity. We may, while admiring the work of the Ritschlianer in history, dislike the philosophy which underlies their attitude to doctrine and its construction. This philosophy is as marked a retrogression from the standpoint and spirit of the older German schools as the Ritschlian historical method is an advance on that alike of Berlin and Tübingen.

A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

## The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter.

*Bampton Lectures for 1889, preached before the University of Oxford by T. K. Cheyne, M.A., D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 8vo, pp. xxxviii., 517. Price 16s.*

DURING the last ten years of a laborious and productive life, Prof. Cheyne has been specially engaged in the solution of the most difficult of all the problems of Old Testament literature to which he has devoted himself—the religious hymns of Israel. The first-fruits of his work on the Psalms were published about eight years ago in the tasteful little volume of renderings executed for the Parchment Library. In 1888 appeared a revised rendering, with a complete commentary and appended critical notes, in the admirably lucid and compact style with which readers of the author's well-known commentary on Isaiah are familiar. In this work it was announced that the deeper questions of the Higher Criticism were left untouched, because they were reserved for separate treatment. The fulfilment of this promise is contained in the Bampton Lectures, which awakened deep interest and some controversy at the time of delivery, and they have at length been given to the world in the book before us.

Probably no European scholar, now that Delitzsch has gone, certainly no Englishman, has a more thorough command of, not merely the nuances of Hebrew idiom—for that is a formal element to which ordinary patience and industry can attain—but also of the underlying ideas that live and move in Hebrew literature. Within the brief compass of ten pages in the Introduction to these lectures, deeply interesting, and not without elements of pathos to all who love to hear of unwearied high endeavour in the search for truth, we learn something of the path—probably the only path—by which such high results can be achieved. The present work is many-sided, and appeals to diverse tastes. Of Semitic philology we have enough and to spare in these days. It not only crowds the German *Zeitschriften*, but overflows in dense masses into the commentaries. The Germans have taught us to delight in these things, and even to complain of their absence. In this volume, as in the Commentary that preceded it, the most exacting *philolog* will find much to whet his appetite. A running sequence of valuable notes is appended to each lecture, and exhibits the widest and most varied research. In addition to these, we have two valuable appendices; the second, on the linguistic affinities of the Psalms,<sup>1</sup> is perhaps the most solid

<sup>1</sup> On p. 469 (on Ps. xxix. 10) I take exception to the combination of מִבְּרָא with Assyr. *abûbu* suggested by Haupt ten years ago. Surely this is

contribution to this side of the literary problem that has appeared since the days of Hupfeld. But we are more grateful to the writer for the insight and freshness of his treatment in the lectures of a well-worn, and, at the same time, obscure and baffling theme, the Chronology of the Psalms. And yet where the author awakens most powerfully our imagination and interest, we are conscious that we are being carried into regions replete with elements of controversy and dissent.

Like a skilful advocate, Professor Cheyne first takes us to ground where controversy is least likely to arise. He begins with Books iv. and v. Here we are in the midst of Psalm-groups, which evidently belong to the Greek period, and we willingly acknowledge that the writer has often made out a strong case. Take Ps. cxviii. as a favourable example. His contention, that the exuberant spirit of independence and martial ardour in this Psalm harmonizes with no historical event in Israel's post-exilian history so well as with the purification and reconsecration of the temple by Judas Macca-bæus in B.C. 165, is, in our opinion, powerfully urged and rendered highly probable. And we are also disposed to follow his guidance in assigning Pss. cxvi. and cxvii. to approximately the same date. How pathetic the sad thankfulness of cxvi. 12-15 becomes when read in the light of the immediate past of suffering and victory described in 1 Maccab. i.-iv. ! We cordially agree in assigning Ps. lxxiv. to that same period of struggle and triumph (p. 93). Nearly as cogent are Canon Cheyne's arguments in favour of placing the composition of Ps. cx. about 142 B.C., when the rule of Simon gave to Judæa the possession of undisturbed peace. We should likewise concur in attributing that most intellectual of all Psalms, cxxxix., to Greek influence, and a true critical insight cannot but follow our author in discerning in the "heptad" of "New" Songs, xciii., xcv.-c., a period but little subsequent to that of the Deutero-Isaiah. Why not include Ps. cvii. ? Comp. cvii., 33 foll. with Is. xli. 18.

But as we are carried back along the Psalter into the third book, serious misgivings begin to arise. Indeed, they have risen already, for we cannot agree in combining Ps. ci. with cx., and Grätz's arguments for a præ-exilian origin are not to be lightly set aside. Let us, however, rather note at the outset our further agreement with Canon Cheyne and many another older exegete (including his favourite Theodore), in admitting that Ps. lxxix., despite its remarkable parallel in the lament of an ancient Babylonian hymn (Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, p. 74), is probably to be assigned, at least in its present questionable philology. The facts are correctly given in the author's *Psalm-Commentary*, p. 380. Comp. Delitzsch's "*Hebrew Language*," &c., p. 67. Schrader C.O.T., ii. p. 293.

form, to the Maccabæan epoch (about 168 B.C.). It might, indeed, be an extension of an earlier hymn of the Exilian period. To Psalm lxxii. are devoted some of the most interesting pages in the book, and we must confess that Hitzig's combination of the ideal portraiture of this Psalm with the personality of the enlightened friend of the Jews, Ptolemy Philadelphus, strikes us as very attractive, and far from improbable. The place of Cyrus in the Deutero-Isaiah affords us a fair parallel. It might be urged that the anti-hellenic wave of sentiment which came in the following century, should make us pause.<sup>1</sup> Surely so remarkable a panegyric of a ruler of Javan would have been known as such in the days when the reaction set in. Would the Chasîdîm of that later time have allowed it a place in the Psalter? On the other hand, it is not inconceivable that its present place and title were due to the attempt of some of the more cultured Sopherîm to reconcile national prejudice to the preservation of so splendid a monument for the religious use and enjoyment of posterity.

And now our course becomes a thorny road. For, as we enter into the problems of Books i. and ii., controversy thickens at every point. Psalm l., with its anti-ceremonialism, we hold to be far more in harmony with præ-exilian prophecy (Isaiah and Jeremiah) than with orthodox post-exilian piety. The author's pleading on pp. 151 foll. is, in our opinion, singularly wanting in cogency. Nor do his arguments on the linguistic side (p. 452) carry much weight. Surely the reference to Zion in verse 2 stands in close relation with such passages as Is. ii. 2-4 (Mic. iv. 1-4); iv. 5, 6; xxxiii. 20. In the third revised edition of his Commentary all these passages are regarded by our author as præ-exilian, and on p. 315 of the present work Is. ii. 2-4 is called an "old prophecy."<sup>2</sup> Here, on the other hand, Stade wields the critical besom (*Zeitsch. für A. T.-liche Wissensch.* 1884, pp. 149, 292) that sweeps all the præ-exilian documents clear of every literary vestige that stands in the way of a high-handed *a priori* theory. And we are glad to note that Canon Cheyne in this instance has not been carried away by the tempting lure. His view, however, respecting Ps. l. appears to be partly

<sup>1</sup> Of such an objection Canon Cheyne is fully aware. See p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> I much regret, however, to read the note on p. 184, where Is. xix. 18-25 is assigned to the age of Ptolemy Lagi. Surely the use of the term *maššebah* in verse 19 is incompatible with such a date, unless all canons of literary criticism are to be flung to the winds. If "the religious reorganisation of the people in Ezra's time was too complete to allow any considerable influence to archaic liturgical formulæ" (p. 194), the same principle must surely apply with two-fold force to *ritual* formulæ. That Palestinian exiles in early times migrated to Egypt under the stress of Assyrian invasions, is indicated by Hos. ix. 3, 6; Mic. vii. 12 (?); comp. Jer. xli. 17, 18; xliv.



based on his conception of Is. lxv., lxvi., as a later appendix—hardly a strong foundation to build on. I should regard Zech. vii. 4-12 as firmer ground. And does he not place weapons in the hands of critical adversaries when he writes: "History does not follow the course prescribed by theory. We must allow for the varieties of religious sentiment; . . . the author of Ps. l. may have belonged to a somewhat different school from that of the great reformer"? We can well imagine the satisfaction with which the late Professor Delitzsch would have welcomed such an admission of a principle capable of wide application to periods earlier than the post-exilian.

The arguments by which the author (pp. 194, 213, foll.) seeks to establish the position, that the musical art of the præ-exilian days was of the very crudest, and temple-psalmody practically unknown, appear to me extremely one-sided. Doubtless the songs of præ-exilian Israel would seem to our modern taste very crude. But would not the Greek melodies of even the third century appear much the same? Professor Mahaffy does not speak very favourably of them (*Antiqq.* p. 55). But admitting that the music of Hellas was a great advance on all that went before, surely we may claim for Semitic religious songs, Canaanite-Hebrew as well as Babylonian, a higher relative artistic merit than the Bampton Lecturer is disposed to admit. The passages cited from the præ-exilian prophets do not by any means exclude the possibility that a trained class of priestly functionaries carried on the service of song in the Jerusalem sanctuary. As for the Arabic *tahill*, it is hardly conclusive as to the meaning of its Hebrew cognate in the late regal period and in the temple sanctuary. The oracles of the eighth century are crowded with references to the advanced civilisation and increasing wealth of the Palestinian towns. Surely the growth in luxury and refinement must have been accompanied by growing culture in religious art, especially with a race so receptive to sensuous impressions as the Canaanite-Hebrew. The local worship may have remained primitive, but this can hardly be true of Samaria and Jerusalem.

Even the ordinary reader, who remembers his Layard (Nineveh and Babylon) will not fail to recall the vivid bas-reliefs from Koujunjik with the procession of harpers and flute players (*Abridged ed.*, p. 253); and the student of Fritz Hommel's *History of Babylonia* (p. 243) will find a harpist playing upon an instrument of twelve strings depicted on a monument assigned to the age of king Gudea (*circ.* 3000 B.C.). We know that the Babylonians possessed several kinds of wind and stringed instruments. It is certain that the Phœnician culture, which undoubtedly exercised a profound influence over Israel, at least from the days of Solomon downwards, did not lack the charm and refinement of music. And, when we

recollect that the Greeks owed not only their alphabet but their *ναῦλον* or *νάβλα* to the Phœnicians (I suspect *κιθάρα* is a loan word), we shall hardly be disposed to underrate the musical culture of even the ancient Hebrew of the eighth or ninth century B.C. Let us not forget the Jehovistic extract (Gen. iv. 19-24). Significant, too, in this connection is Isaiah's quotation (xxiii. 16, comp. Ezek. xxvi. 13) of a melodious snatch from a popular Tyrian song in his day, which travelled far south to Palestinian towns, well known, probably, in the symposia of Jerusalem graphically described by the prophet (v. 11, 12):—

Take up the harp,  
Pass round the city,  
Forgotten coquette,  
Touch the strings deftly,  
Sing many a song,  
That thou be remembered.

We are reminded of the *μέλη ἀρχαιομελισιδωνοφρυνιχίρατα* that charmed the ears of the Athenians in the days of Aristophanes. Who can doubt that "forgotten coquette" was a well-known melody as much as *aijjeleth haššahar, mûth labben*, or *jônath elem rehoqim* which survived in the memory of Israel at least as many years as the "sweet old songs of Phrynichus"? Of the song *Al Tašhith* we have probably a reminiscence in Is. lxxv. 8.

It is certainly a difficult task to decide how far Assyrio-Babylonian traditions, which operated, perhaps, during the reign of Abaz or Manasseh, contributed to shape the forms of Hebrew lyrics and their cantillation. If comparatively late Babylonian influences moulded the Jehovistic narratives, as Canon Cheyne quite unnecessarily assumes (pp. 279, 391 foll.)<sup>1</sup>, surely Babylonian influences might be assumed with equal confidence to have moulded Hebrew Psalmody. But on such a subject dogmatism is inadmissible until our knowledge both of Babylonian worship and of Phœnician lyrical ritual has become far more intimate than it is. Meanwhile it should be noted that *שִׁיר* is not improbably to be connected with the Assyrian *šigûl* meaning "litany," and *הַלְלָה* with *sullû*, meaning

<sup>1</sup> It is one of the unfortunate results of the great wealth of material brought to light by Assyriology, and the comparative poverty of our knowledge of Phœnician and early Aramaic culture, that it gives a very one-sided view of the ancient Semitic world, and even a false bent to historic investigation. As a corrective to pp. 270, 279, let the reader peruse Dillmann's Essay on the Origin of the Primitive Historical Traditions of the Hebrews, translated in *Biblioth. Sacra*, July 1883, p. 433 foll.; and Schrader *Cuneif Insc.* and *Old Testament*, Vol. I., Preface, pp. xvii.-xx., and also pp. 28-39, 41-45, 48-55; Professor Ryle in *Expository Times*, June and Sept. 1891. Professor Sayce, *ibid.* Dec. 1891, suggests new possibilities. Let us hope that Glaser's researches in Arabia will help to redress the balance.

"to pray." <sup>1</sup> Very significant, too, is the cessation of musical titles in Books iv. and v. For this proves the antiquity of the musical tradition preserved in the previous books quite as much as the displacement of that tradition by the new Hellenic influences. Even a time-honoured tradition decays in the course of centuries, and its technical terms become emptied of all meaning. But if this be true, is it altogether safe to treat the musical title of a psalm as a negligible quantity in estimating the antiquity of the poem? To my own mind a definite clue of this kind ought at least to make us hesitate to assign Ps. xlv. to the Greek period.

This leads me to emphasise what I regard as the cardinal defect of Canon Cheyne's work on the Old Testament,—a defect shared by him with many adherents of the more advanced school of the higher criticism, viz., that he underrates the præ-exilian and national period of Hebrew life. Archæology alone can cure this. For the curious spectacle presented by the advanced criticism is that while its tendency is to post-date the literature of the Old Testament by centuries, archæology is ante-dating the origins of Semitic culture by millenniums.

And yet the acknowledged præ-exilian literature of the Old Testament that remains ought surely to arrest our progress to such an extreme conclusion as that to which Prof. Cheyne would conduct us, that *Ps. xviii. is the solitary præ-exilian Psalm, and even that is not earlier than the age of Josiah* (p. 266). What is there improbable in the supposition that the age which produced such a sentiment as Amos v. 8, or, later still, Jerem. x. 12-16, could also have given birth to Ps. xix. 1-7, or xxix? Has not our author himself drawn attention to Wellhausen's reconstruction of a poetic fragment belonging to the age of Solomon, 1 Kings viii. 12 (pp. 193, 212), where kindred ideas are expressed? And is there any antecedent improbability that Hebrews and Canaanites possessed their own poetic analogues to the impressive Babylonian hymns to Šamaš and Merodach?

In our opinion, too little account is taken of the possibility, suggested by Vatke (p. 193), that old poems or poetic fragments, written, perhaps, originally from an individual standpoint, became afterwards adapted to liturgical uses, and then, as in Psalm xxii., the individual traits became merged in the universal. The parallel between Ps. xxii. and Isa. liii. is obvious to even a superficial observer. But the rapidity with which the ancient Hebrew passed from the nation to the individual, and *vice versâ*, is best understood when we note how readily his language expressed the nation or tribe under the

<sup>1</sup> Muss Arnolt in Academy, June 14, 1890. Compare Zimmern, Busspsalmen, p. 41. 16 on the Pael *sullâ*. Such a signification is well adapted to the combination הניין סלה in Ps. ix. 16.

form of an individual name. Moreover, additions to an earlier song might easily be made. Probably it was made in xiv. 7, and possibly in li. 20, 21. Clear examples may be found in Ps. lx. and cviii. (probably containing a Davidic fragment). Why should not Ps. lxxx. be a poem of the closing days of the Ephraimite kingdom? With the metaphor in verses 9, 10; 15, 16, comp. Isa. v. 1-7; and with the artistic strophes and their concluding refrain, comp. Amos i. 3-ii. 8, and the beautiful and elaborate poem, Isa. ix. 8-x. 4. Like Ps. xlv., it may be one of the few literary survivors from the awful national wreckage of Northern Israel, reserved for the eternal service of humanity in its worship of the King of kings. Such a view is no more uncritical than that which is entertained by most scholars respecting the collection of appended older oracles—Zech. ix.-xiv.—redacted probably, and adapted, if we follow Stade, in the third century. As to the specialities of diction, let us remember Canon Cheyne's own sound words of caution (Isaiah ii. (1884) p. 138). "Granting that בָּרָא [Isa. iv. 5] is an Aramaism, does it follow that every Aramaism in Isaiah is a corruption? Ryssel has pointed out how growing an influence was exerted by Aramaic from the time of Ahaz downwards." Probably the influence of Aramaic in Judah was comparatively slight and sporadic in pre-exilian times,<sup>1</sup> and dated from the conquest of Hazael at the close of the ninth century. In Northern Israel that influence existed both earlier and to a greater extent.

I much regret that space prevents me from discussing Dr Cheyne's valuable chapters on the theologoumena of the Psalms. The influence of Persian ideas in shaping Israel's doctrine of the future state is a profoundly interesting problem. On this the author has contributed three useful papers in the *Expository Times* (June, July, August, 1891). Here, again, matters of controversy arise respecting Pss. xvi. and xvii. But of controversy the reader will have had enough. Putting this *vexata questio* aside, we would express our gratitude to the writer for his fearless inquiry in a difficult region, full of fascination and hitherto insufficiently explored. The eighth lecture, Part II., is perhaps the most stimulating and instructive in the whole volume.

Let not this paper be misjudged as too severely anticritical in its tone. If it has emphasised points of difference, it is because a work, like these Bampton Lectures, by so eminent a scholar, and setting forth definite and positive results on a department of literature so difficult and uncertain as the Psalms, requires to be met not with complaisant or admiring acquiescence, but with careful scrutiny. And this is no useless truism. Were Prof. Cheyne's reputation far

<sup>1</sup> We know from Isa. xxxvi. 11 that the ruling classes understood it.

less than it is, such otiose acquiescence, though reprehensible, would perhaps work no very serious mischief. But at the present time, if we mistake not, there is special need for the observance of a critical attitude towards the work of the more advanced school of the Higher Criticism. Just now the wheel has come half cycle round, and the religious world, as reflected in many of its weekly organs and reviews, is willing to accept all that the most "advanced" Biblical critics will tell them, with a docility most uncritical. May we venture to remind our readers that the day for proving all things, even when it comes under the aegis of the authority of our most renowned Biblical scholars, is not yet past? Certain assured results in Pentateuch criticism Kuenen and Wellhausen have, I admit, attained. Nor will a serious scholar venture to assert that the book of Daniel, in its present form, is *præ*-Maccabean, or that Isaiah and Zechariah are not composite books. But let not these admissions involve the weakness of yielding to Kuenen's conclusions as to the antiquity of much of the *contents* and *ideas* of Israel's literature, and especially of that ethical-spiritual monotheism which it is the fashion of the hour to regard as the startling product of the eighth century. And let it be remembered that there are eminent Semitic scholars, like Dillmann, Schrader, Nöldeke, König, Baudissin, Bähgen, Strack, and Kittel, whose views respecting the evolution of Israel's religion are very different from those which are now in the ascendant.

We do not deny that many of the literary achievements of the regal period became obsolete because they did not harmonize with the severer canons of religious taste that prevailed during the exilian and post-exilian period. Much more perished in the awful tornadoes of destruction that swept over the Palestinian lands from Assyria and Babylon. The extent of this destruction of the literature of Israel we can only surmise from the scantiness of the remnants preserved in the Judæan recensions of the Old Testament. And how much of this is really Ephraimite? Is the Elohist document or the Oracles of Hosea or the Song of Deborah really Ephraimite? That Judæan literature suffered likewise we cannot doubt. How much was lost, how much abandoned to oblivion, we shall never know. But if we can surmise anything, we may surely assume this: that the Hebrew exile would least willingly relinquish the strains of the earlier time, both of the more prosperous times of Solomon and Jehoshaphat and of the darker days when Isaiah and Jeremiah prophesied. Some, at least, of the lyric poetry must have been treasured in written scroll or in an enthusiastic loving memory. To ignore such a probability is to do violence to human psychology.

I fear that it must in candour be acknowledged that, despite all the wealth of learning and ingenuity with which these lectures are crowded, we even now know very little about the historic background

of the Psalms. In the work before us many an imaginary background has been painted for us with rare artistic grace and skill. In some cases we recognise the vista as probably the true one. In other cases it seems fairly harmonious in form and colour with the lyric fragment before us. Fortunately the religious value of the poem does not depend on the particular historic reference. For the Psalms have long passed into the universal consciousness of the Church and of humanity. Their spiritual greatness transcends all relations of place or time.

Dogmatism on these historic questions is worse than useless. It is misleading. For it is built over yawning chasms of ignorance. Despite archæology we have but little definite knowledge of the ninth century of Hebrew history on its internal side, and even less of the centuries that precede. And we know only too little of Judaism during the Persian period. Speaking broadly, therefore, we must follow Hupfeld in confessing that our verdict respecting the chronology of the Psalms must, to a large extent, remain a *non liquet*. In this respect I prefer the tone of judicial caution respecting the Psalms to that of sanguine expectancy of definite results.

But, while we regard this as the least conclusive of Canon Cheyne's contributions to Old Testament study, let us not be thought to disparage its value though we dissent from many of its results. The Psalms, owing to their external form and contents (for poetry is necessarily archaic, and bears fewer definite traits of time and place), must prove the supreme task of the historical and critical exegete. This last work of Canon Cheyne is, measured by its almost inaccessible goal, no less worthy than those which have preceded. It is one among the few produced by Englishmen on the Old Testament of which an Englishman may be proud, as revealing on every page laborious, independent research, and as a distinct contribution to the elucidation of a most baffling problem. On numerous later Psalms the author has thrown fresh and welcome light, and where he has not produced conviction he has at least opened up inviting paths for future inquiry.

“ Auch so geben die Götter vergängliche Gaben und locken  
Mit erneutem Geschenk immer die Sterblichen an.”

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

## Canon Driver's Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament.

*Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo. Pp. xxxvi., 532. Price 12s.*

UPON few theological works has such general interest been concentrated as upon this important work from the pen of Canon Driver. Few books, I venture to think, will have rendered such signal service to the cause, so dear to all Christian students, of the reverent, thorough, and painstaking study of Holy Scripture. Messrs T. & T. Clark may well be congratulated upon having been able to open their "International Theological Library" with a volume of such remarkable merits.

In every respect its appearance at the present time is most opportune. For some years past public attention has been aroused by the problems of Old Testament Criticism. The necessity for a restatement of views has forced itself upon thinking minds. It was impossible to read the best recent works upon the Old Testament (and to mention but a few, I mean such works as Cheyne's "Isaiah," Driver's "Books of Samuel," Spurrell's "Genesis," Davidson's "Job," Plumptre on "Ecclesiastes," Kirkpatrick on "Samuel" and "Psalms," C. H. Wright on "Ecclesiastes," Robertson Smith's "Old Testament in Jewish Church," and "Prophets of Israel"), without feeling how invaluable would be a volume that would summarise the best Christian criticism upon the Literature of the Old Testament. It is this service which Driver's "Introduction" has done for us. He has collected together into a "focus" the reasonings of modern criticism, the *data* on which they are founded, the results to which they probably lead.

But as a help to study it is likely to be even more valuable than as a guide for opinion. English students have long deplored the want of such a book. It has been the reproach of English theology that it has produced no work dealing with Old Testament literature that was at once accurate, complete, and up to date in respect of scholarship and criticism. For years we have had to be content with reproductions or translations of German work. In this department of Biblical study the Germans have been far in advance of us. It is not a matter of whether we approve of their particular views; that, by comparison, is of slight importance. But the Germans have shown us the way in close biblical study, examining the text itself verse by verse, with concordance and grammar by their side. When we look into the work by Eichorn at the end of last century, and of the great men of the present century, De Wette, Ewald, Bleek; when we see the numerous critical helps to students that have appeared in the last half century, the "Introduction"

of De Wette, edited by Schrader, that of Bleek, edited by Wellhausen, the reactionary "Introduction" by Keil, the excellent work on the Old Testament by Strack in Zöckler's "Handbuch," the reverent treatment of the subject by Riehm, and the indispensable commentaries of Delitzsch and Dillmann, we are forced to confess that English work has by comparison been sadly backward in this particular department.

If Canon Driver had not made use of German works, he would have rejected the aid of some of the best literary machinery that lay at his disposal. The value of Canon Driver's work consists in the perfect independence of his judgment, and the real genius of his scholarship. The excellence of his workmanship is not due to the tools he has employed, but to his skill in employing them and his knowledge how to use them for the best. What he gives us is no mere slavish transcript of the German opinion to which he stands most clearly allied, that of Dillmann, of Riehm, of Baudissin, of Kittel. Nor is it a series of polemics against the most advanced or the most reactionary school of criticism. He uses all and serves none. He is able to make the best use of the mass of information to be obtained from the acute and invaluable analysis of the Pentateuch in the monumental works of Kuenen and Wellhausen; but he is equally willing to make use of the most obscure "brochure," provided it is a piece of genuine work and a real contribution to the study. The authority of a scholar's name does not bias his own judgment. He is as likely to agree with Dillmann on one question as he is with Wellhausen on another. He gathers together all the available material, and sifts it in a calm judicial spirit. He reinforces the work of other scholars with the results of his own patient and skilful study. What he repeats he repeats, after he has verified it; what he borrows, he borrows because, after examining the whole range of available literature, he finds it most exactly expresses what he wants to say.

The reader has always the satisfaction of hearing both sides of an argument summed up quietly and lucidly. Often the writer honestly confesses he has not yet been able to make up his mind, but he does not hesitate to say that his judgment inclines him somewhat more in one direction than another (*e.g.* p. 47—the Law of Sacrifice, pp. 290, 291, the Date of Joel, p. 435, the Authorship of Lamentations).

To attempt to review in the limits of a single notice a work which covers such a range and contains such a mass of detail, is a task which I have not the presumption to undertake. I prefer rather to give some description of it, and to commend it most earnestly to all who are interested in Biblical Theology as teachers or students.



For this purpose it is needful to describe the scope of the work, and the method pursued in it. For by virtue of its scope and method it certainly occupies a unique position in the literature of English Theology. Canon Driver in his preface calls the attention of his readers emphatically to the *limited scope* which he has set, or which has been set before him. "An introduction to the literature of the Old Testament," he says, included according to the conception he had formed of it, "an account of the contents and structure of the several books, together with such an indication of their *general* character and aim as I could find room for in the space at my disposal." The space at his disposal may well have deterred a less courageous man. He had one volume allotted to him for his task; he completed it in 520 pages. Some perhaps will grudge the imposition of such limitations upon a scholar of such powers. But the way in which with marvellous self-restraint he condenses the substance of chapters into pages, and the substance of pages into sentences, has enabled him to furnish us with more material in a single volume than most men would spread over a dozen octavos. His success in condensation is largely due to his rigid pursuit of the primary scope of his work. Doubtless we, some of us, feel inclined to grumble that he could give so little space to some special subject that has engrossed our attention. One student would like to know his view upon Genesis xiv.; another would complain of the brief analysis of Leviticus i.-xvi.; a third may object that the Minor Prophets had received but scanty treatment. But there is no real ground for complaint. The cause for wonder is that the writer has been able to keep so closely to the proportion that was necessary for the observance of the limitations under which he wrote. To the Hexateuch we have 150 pages allotted; to the Prophets, 186; to the Hagiographa, 184. And if the reader will take the trouble to compare these figures with the corresponding pages in the Bible, he will be struck with the probably self-denying action of the writer in dealing with different portions in as far as possible an equally thorough and yet concise manner.

Carefully, however, as the contents and structure of the books are made to occupy his whole attention, the reader cannot complain that any important element subsidiary to the argument has been wholly disregarded. The discussion of *historical* questions affecting the date and authorship of a book will be immensely helpful to the student, and no one can read what Canon Driver has written under this head in his account of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, and Daniel, without a sense of the additional life which a few vigorous and accurate touches of the history, taken from the best sources, infuse into the description of the contents. Similarly, though the Theology of the Old Testament does not strictly fall within his province, the discussion of the religious ideas, *e.g.* of Isaiah, pp. 228-230—Job,

pp. 385, 386, 394—Ecclesiastes, p. 443, and in numerous other passages, reminds us that the literary scholar has never for a moment forgotten the spiritual purpose which the literature was selected to subserve. A treatment of Hebrew poetry (pp. 337-343), comes in naturally before the Psalter; and the discussion of numerous special passages arises naturally in the process of the analysis (Cf. note on Psalm xxi., p. 307; on Psalm cx., p. 362).

The *method* pursued in the introduction to each book is perfectly simple and direct. A few sentences are spent upon the writer and his period; and then, section by section, or chapter by chapter, the contents are briefly analysed, and any important feature in the structure is made the subject of especial remark. The arguments in any controversy upon the structure are succinctly stated. The reader is thus provided with a running analysis of every book in the Old Testament, and, in addition, with a careful summary of the discussion upon any disputed question bearing upon the present condition of the text. Doubtless, to many a reader the method adopted will appear dry, tedious, and technical. But, on the other hand, it is the only way in which the character of each work, and the purpose of its composition, can be fully appreciated. To many intelligent English readers, the methods adopted will perhaps for the first time reveal the true nature of the critical questions which beset the structure not of the Pentateuch only, but of so many other books of the Old Testament.

Still it is to the treatment of the Hexateuch that many will first direct their attention. Whatever views be held upon the origin of its structure, Canon Driver has here rendered the English-speaking Bible student a really great service. He has stated, with admirable conciseness and with great judgment, the arguments upon which he considers the departure from the traditional view, and the adoption of the new critical position, to be justified by reason, and to be required by candour. The arguments will very possibly fail to convince a certain number. But their statement has again and again been demanded during the past few years; and, whether acceptable or not, the advantage of having them ably and clearly stated will be a gain from whatever side it be regarded. Canon Driver, with a wise self-control, resisted the temptation to make a fragmentary reply. He has waited till he could put forward a complete, although necessarily a condensed, defence of the views for which he has frequently been censured. His statement is likely to have at once an educating and a re-assuring influence upon Christian opinion. It will, only too probably, be a new light to many to learn that the criteria, by which the component documents of the Hexateuch are to be distinguished, are not limited to the use of the sacred names. The treatment of the distinctive characteristics of the Priestly Law

and the Priestly Narrative (pp. 118-128) can hardly fail to convince the unprejudiced reader that if there be anything in the view of compilation (and the most conservative critics admit of its presence in Genesis), then the characteristics of the Priestly Narrative are as clearly recognisable in Exodus or Numbers or Joshua, as in Genesis. By a happy and ingenious method the results of the compilation process in the Hexateuch are presented to us at the head of each section in turn. It is only possible to find one fault with it, and that is, that it is often not clear at first sight where a new chapter begins; and, of course, the merit of the device lies in the promptness with which the eye can seize the results of the interlacing of the different narratives. A couple of instructive instances may here be given:—

*Genesis* (p. 14).

[P 27, 1-9]		[28]						
J	10	13-16	19	2-14	24	29	31-35	
E	11-12	17-18	20-22, 29, 1	15-23	24-28	30		

*Numbers* (p. 57).

P 13, 1-17 <sup>a</sup>	21	25-26 <sup>a</sup> ( <sup>to</sup> <sub>Paran</sub> )	32 <sup>a</sup>	14, 1-2	5-7	10	26-38	
J E	17 <sup>b</sup> -20	22-24	26 <sup>b</sup> -31	32 <sup>b</sup> -33	3-4	8-9	11-25	39-45

Even an English reader, quite ignorant of Hebrew, who at first sight is startled, if not indignant, at this attempt to trace the component elements of a Book of the Bible, will find, by patiently following out such examples as these, verse by verse, that the threads of two or more versions of the narrative become plainly distinguishable, and possess, moreover, clearly marked characteristics of style. He will see the meaning of the author's wise opening words in p. 3, explaining the methods of a Hebrew narrative-writer.

It will be observed that J and E of the *Genesis* passage appear as JE in the *Numbers* passage. The practical commonsense of the writer is here apparent. He has no doubt of the original distinctness of the two documents represented by these names. But he grants that, after their compilation together, the data are often lacking upon which it is possible to determine whether a passage has most affinity to the characteristics of E or of J (pp. 109, 110). Similarly it was probably a wise step to refrain from the employment of such symbols as P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>2</sup> P<sup>3</sup> to represent the different strata of the Priestly Code (p. 45 n.); for the existence of the different strata is admirably brought out in the analysis of the Laws, and the introduction of such signs, where there must be considerable uncertainty in their application, would have needlessly bewildered the ordinary reader.

To those who have attempted to follow the controversy respecting the date of the Priestly Code as compared with the Laws of

Deuteronomy and the Code of Ezekiel, Canon Driver's treatment of the subject (pp. 128-148) can hardly fail to be welcome. For lucidity of statement and moderation of expression, it is a model of the way in which such questions should be discussed. While it is tempting to give many extracts, the following summary of results deserves especial attention. "These arguments are cogent, and combine to make it probable that the *completed* Priest's Code is the work of the age subsequent to Ezekiel. When, however, this is said, it is very far from being implied that all the institutions of P are the *Creation* of this age. The contradiction of the pre-exilic literature does not extend to the *whole* of the Priest's Code indiscriminately. The Priest's Code embodies some elements with which the earlier literature is in harmony, and which indeed it presupposes: it embodies other elements with which the same literature is in conflict, and the existence of which it even seems to preclude. This double aspect of the Priest's Code is reconciled by the supposition that the chief ceremonial institutions of Israel are *in their origin* of great antiquity; but that the laws respecting them were gradually developed and elaborated, and *in the shape in which they are formulated in the Priest's Code* that they belong to the exilic or early post-exilic period. In its main stock the legislation of P. was thus not (as the critical view of it is sometimes represented by its opponents as teaching) 'manufactured' by the Priests during the exile; it is based upon *pre-existing Temple* usage, and exhibits the form which that finally assumed. Hebrew legislation took shape gradually, and the codes of JE. (Ex. 20-23, 34, 10 ff.), Dt., and P. represent three successive phases of it" (pp. 135, 136).

While the treatment of the Hexateuch will thus enable the student to understand the historical growth of its structure, a similar process is shown to have been at work in the composition of the other narrative books, and of certain Prophets, notably Isaiah, Micah, Zechariah, and of books in the Hagiographa, the Psalter, Proverbs, Job. The discussion of some of the books which have not been the subject of sensational controversy, belongs to some of the best part of this "Introduction." The treatment of Judges, of Joel, of Lamentations, of Song of Songs, have all admirable qualities to make them interesting to any intelligent student. The discussion of the Song of Songs no one will regret to see so fully handled. Similarly Job and Ecclesiastes receive very ample and sympathetic treatment. For an example, however, of Canon Driver's methods it would be difficult to find a better case than is presented by the treatment of the Book of Daniel. For more reasons than one he is here moving on very delicate ground. Nowhere are his caution and his capacity for weighing arguments displayed to such advantage; while the management of the argument based upon the

language, cannot but excite admiration, both for its thoroughness and the masterly manner in which the facts are grouped. The treatment of the language, as might be expected, frequently forms one of the best features in the discussion of the individual books.

There are two points which, in a notice like the present, it is desirable to emphasize and to give due credit to. One is the enormous industry, the other is the unflinching courage displayed by the writer of such a work. The industry of the work appears in every page, it appears in the thoroughness with which every large work and every special monograph have been consulted; it appears in the care with which every reference has been verified; not least does it appear in the lists and tables, the accurate preparation of which must have cost an amount of labour quite unsuspected by the ordinary reader. Under this head, attention may be drawn to the admirable synopsis of the Laws of Deuteronomy (p. 68), to the tables illustrating the characteristics of the Deuteronomic style (pp. 91-95), the Priestly Narrative (pp. 123-128), of the compiler of the Book of Kings (pp. 190-193), and the chief elements in the structure of Chronicles (pp. 487-493).

The moral courage shown in this book deserves full acknowledgment. Canon Driver states fearlessly the conclusions which his premises compel him to adopt. We feel that there is no over-stating of the case, no exaggeration of difficulties, no fondness for merely speculative theories. On the contrary, he states his opinion so cautiously and circumspectly, with such a rigid regard to the quality of the evidence, that we feel that he is more likely to keep within the mark than to go beyond it, and that where he asserts himself positively, he does so because he feels the ground is firm under his feet. With this scholar-like caution we do not always associate the qualities of courage and fearless frankness: much needed as they always are, these are qualities which we more than ever value when they are found in a man who has attained a position of responsibility and is trusted as a master of his subject.

All lovers of truth will therefore honour Canon Driver for not shrinking to record the results of his researches. He gives his data, and he then declares what appears to him to be the most candid conclusion to be obtained. In doing so he cannot fail to come in for much obloquy; he is sure to give offence, sure to be misunderstood. If he had chosen an easier and less straightforward line, he might have escaped much that he is likely to be the victim of at the hands of those who are really ignorant of the problems, or who are unskilled in estimating the true weight of evidence. All true scholars, whether agreeing with his conclusions or not, will do credit to his care, his thoroughness, and his reverence of tone. Leaving out of our reckoning the treatment of the Hexateuch, the

reader will find utterances apparently fully justified by the evidence, which many a student will be most grateful for finding honestly recorded, but which it was no light matter for the Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford to assert. A few examples will suffice: the *probability* is stated that the book of Jonah was composed in the fifth century B.C. (p. 301): "Qohéleth," it is said, "takes a false view of life" (p. 442); "the Book of Daniel was not written earlier than c. 300 B.C. . . . the opinion of a *probable* one, that the Book, as we have it, is a work of the age of Antiochus Epiphanes" (p. 477); the Book of Esther can "hardly be pronounced altogether free from improbabilities" (p. 452); "It does not seem possible to treat the additional matter in Chronicles as strictly and literally historical" (p. 500). These are instances of distinct but guarded opinions, which many have shared and have yet hesitated to express. We have no fears for the results of candid historical criticism, so long as it is conducted on the lines and in the spirit of the present work. The real source of peril to the Church of Christ would arise from the timid suppression by men of learning and responsibility of conclusions to which they had come after years of patient study and anxious thought. Worse than any heterodoxy is that fear of appearing heterodox that sacrifices truth to fancied orthodoxy.

Canon Driver has written with dignity and self-restraint. Controversy he for the most part avoids. Every now and then he alludes to those who have differed from him, but uniformly with great moderation. His remarks upon the "Journal theory" of the Pentateuch, as represented by Principal Cave, are gently expressed, though firmly (pp. 144, 149); though one feels a less kindly critic would have handled in a far more unsparing way a theory that applies to precisely the same phenomena different explanations according as they happen to occur in Genesis, in Exodus, in Deuteronomy, or in Joshua. A few sparks of righteous severity are occasionally let fall, *e.g.*, p. xviii. n., and p. 471, n. 2; but only where a much more stern rebuke would not have been altogether unmerited.

The necessity for compression has a little impaired the freedom of the style. The necessity also of guarding against wrong inferences and, therefore, for using terms that could not be capable of perversion, sometimes accounts for a cumbrous form of expression. As a rule, the writing is a model of close packing without loss of intelligibility.

A notice of the book would be incomplete which did not call upon the reader on no account to overlook the Preface. It deserves to be carefully studied. Many in the present day dread the influence of the free literary criticism, which is applied, in such a book

as this, to Holy Scripture. Let them gather courage from the expression of unwavering Christian faith which closes an admirable Preface with these words:—

“Criticism in the hands of Christian scholars does not banish or destroy the inspiration of the Old Testament; it *pre-supposes* it; it seeks only to determine the conditions under which it operates, and the literary forms through which it manifests itself; and it thus helps us to frame truer conceptions of the methods which it has pleased God to employ in revealing Himself to His ancient people of Israel, and in preparing the way for the fuller manifestation of Himself in Christ Jesus.”

Since the above was written, I have heard, with the utmost pleasure, of the appearance of the Second Edition. That a work of such a severely scholarly character should have so rapidly found favour with British and American readers, speaks eloquently both for the need that was felt for such a work and for the successful manner in which it has been met by Canon Driver's treatment of the subject.

HERBERT E. RYLE.

### Celtic Scotland : A History of Ancient Alban.

*By William F. Skene. Vol. I., History and Ethnology; Vol. II., Church and Culture; Vol. III., Land and People. Second Edition. Edinburgh: David Douglas, pp. xvi.-509; xix.-510; xv.-530. Price 15s. per vol.*

THE publication of a new, though substantially unaltered, edition of *Celtic Scotland* affords us an opportunity to estimate and acknowledge the value of the author's contribution to the history of his own country. Mr Skene was the first, or among the first, to apply the results of a really scientific philology to the materials left us by our Celtic forefathers or predecessors; he possesses an unequalled knowledge of our earliest chronicles; and he was also the first to lay the Sagas under contribution for the purposes of Scottish history. When he undertakes to guide us through an obscure and confused period, we may follow him with confidence; at the same time, we need not bind ourselves beforehand to accept all his opinions. Whether Conn of the hundred battles is really Constantine the Great; whether Niall of the nine hostages and Dathi are really Theodosius and Maximus—on these and many other minor questions we desire to retain the right of private judgment. The main outlines of Celtic history stand out clearly enough; and no writer has done more to make them clear than Mr Skene.

Recent inquirers are agreed in holding that these islands were occupied, during the Neolithic age, by a long-skulled, curly, dark race, who buried their dead in caves and chambers. It is to this, the so-called Iberian race, that we must assign some elements in the population of Wales and Ireland, which are still occasionally described as "characteristically Celtic." Mr Skene identifies this pre-Celtic element with the Silures of Wales, the Cornish tin-workers, known to the Phœnicians, and the Firbolg of Irish tradition. The true Celts bring in the age of bronze; they are of Aryan race, and resemble the Germans and the Gauls; their skulls are round, and they bury their dead in round barrows. Among the Celtic invaders of these islands, we are to distinguish two groups of tribes: the British or Brythonic people, who are strongest in Wales, Cornwall, and Strathclyde; and the Gaels, who are strongest in Scotland generally, and in Ireland. The Gaels, again, are of two types. There is a race of fair, large-limbed men, whom Mr Skene has identified with the Picts of Scotland and Ulster, and with the legendary Tuatha de Danann; among the Picts of central Scotland he discovers an admixture of British blood. There is also a race of fair, brown-haired Gaels, "sons of Miledh," Milesians, or Scots. Whether the Scots were the best of their race or not, they were certainly the most successful. For, in the first place, they imposed their name on the tribes of Ireland, so that for centuries the sister island was known as Scotia. Coming over into Argyle, they made a kingdom there, and this kingdom flourished until the name of Scotia was transferred to, and retained by, our own country: an early and undoubted injustice to Ireland, which we acknowledge with due contrition. We may accept this account of the tribes who contended for mastery in these islands, subject to the general observation that race-names are always to be used with caution. "Picts" and "Scots" were names of mere description, given to certain tribes by their neighbours; their significance may have changed from time to time; the Scots, for example, who invaded the Roman Empire in the fourth century, may, or may not, be connected in blood with those who settled in western Scotland four generations later.

Of the beliefs and customs of the primitive Celts of Britain and Ireland not very much is known. They worshipped gods who resided in earth, air, and water; they set up pillar-stones; and they had a class of priests or Druids, who knew how to propitiate the supernatural powers. We must beware of applying what is said of the Druids of Gaul to the probably much ruder mystery-men of the Irish tribes. It has been supposed that the name of Baal was known to the early Celts; but this opinion seems to rest on no better evidence than one or two doubtful etymologies. From the success of the first Christian missionaries we may infer that the



Celts were naturally religious, and also that there was nothing in their native beliefs so definite or so firmly established as to offer an obstacle to the reception of a new faith. The old gods retired into the background, and there is much in the popular superstitions of Scotland and Ireland which perpetuates the memory of the primitive Nature-worship. Celtic Christianity has a character of its own, and Mr Skene has well shewn how the phases of its progress are reproduced in the legends of the saints. The pioneers of the faith are secular priests, founding churches, and converting nations. Their successors are regular clergy, founding monasteries, which assimilate and reproduce the tribal organisation of the people among whom they work. St Patrick is the model of the first order of missionaries, St Columba of the second. Monachism is introduced into Ireland from Whithorn in Galloway, and from Brittany through Wales. Throughout the Columban Church, the monastery is the unit of administration; the Abbot is the leader in religious work, and the Bishop occupies a comparatively subordinate place. But the Celtic Churches held to the Catholic view of orders; they preserved to the Bishop his spiritual function, though they did not assign to him a prelate jurisdiction. We must take note of these ecclesiastical tendencies to understand the political history of the time, for the founders of monasteries were also the true founders of principalities and kingdoms. It was under the influence of men like Columba that the tribes drew together, and began to form nations in the modern sense of the word.

At the close of the sixth century, there were, according to Mr Skene's reckoning, four peoples within the limits of Scotland. The Britons were, for the most part, Romanised or half Romanised; their fortune was to fall under the rule of the Scots. The Picts were to form a considerable kingdom in the north—a kingdom whose destiny was determined more than once by the primitive rule of maternal succession which prevailed among its chiefs, a rule which Mr Skene, following McLennan, would account for on the theory that maternity, in the earlier stages of social development, is more certain than paternity. We should prefer to say that the rights of a child, in primitive society, depend on the house in which he is born—the house, in other words, to which his mother belongs. The Picts also are brought under the influence of the Scots by Columba and his followers, and the rule of maternal succession finally gives them a Scottish chief. The Scots themselves follow the Irish custom of tanistry; and this is the rule which Kenneth Mac Alpin brings with him when, in 844, he becomes master of the Pictish Kingdom. His accession is followed by an immigration of Scots, lay and clerical, into Pictland—the beginning of the move-

ment which made the *Alban* of the ninth century into the *Scotia* of the tenth.

Britons, Picts, and Scots were not left to fight out their battles among themselves. Before the end of the fourth century, if Mr Skene is right, the Saxons were among them; by "Saxon" we are to understand men of Teutonic race; the name is wide enough to include the Angles, who founded a great kingdom in Northern England and lowland Scotland, and the Frisians, from whom the Firth of Forth derived the name of the Frisian Sea. Arthur, the hero of the British Celts, has to make head against the Gael and the Teuton; the last but one of his twelve battles is fought at the Mount Agned—*i.e.*, Mynydd Agned or Edinburgh, then held by Picts who may have been in league with the Saxons. Edinburgh, in fact, marks the boundary between the races; Edwin of Northumbria gives it his name, and makes it an outpost of the Angles; three centuries later Indulph, king of Scots, makes it an outpost against the Angles. If the Avon or the Esk had remained the southern boundary of the Scottish kingdom, the Celts of the north might ultimately have been incorporated with England by hard fighting, like their British kinsmen in Wales. But the kings who dwelt at Scone or Dunfermline were too strong to be reduced into vassalage. They regard Lothian and Cumbria as lying within their "sphere of influence;" they acquire titles to jurisdiction over these regions good enough to satisfy feudal notions of right. William the Conqueror finds that the union of lowland and Celtic Scotland is too strong to be disturbed, and the border line is drawn between him and his neighbour King Malcolm very much as it remains to this day. When power passes to the sons of Malcolm and his Saxon Queen, Margaret, the boundaries of the northern kingdom are not altered, but its attitude, so to speak, is changed; it is no longer a kingdom of Scots pressing southward; it has become a kingdom of Anglo-Normans pressing northward. David I. is to all intents a Saxon like his mother, and his policy is to re-fashion the institutions of Scotland, in Church and State, on the model of feudal and Catholic England.

Celt and Saxon are thus inseparably combined in the structure of the Scottish nation, but there were other tribes which contributed something to the final result. Towards the end of the eighth century, the Northmen began to be the terror of these islands: the Finngail (white strangers, Norwegians) and the Dubhgaill (black strangers, Danes) harried our coasts, seized the harbours that suited them best, built and fortified towns for themselves, and exercised lordship over their neighbours. Thus, many of the Scots of the west became "Gallgaidhel," Gaels under the stranger. Mr Skene tells us that the same name was given to the Picts of Gallo-

way at the time when they were subject to Anglian rule : Galloway is, in fact, the same as Gallgaidhel. The Norwegians and the Danes founded no enduring kingdom in this part of the world, but they took their full share of what fighting there was to be had, acting sometimes in alliance with the Celtic powers, sometimes against them. Thus, for example, Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, and vassal of King Olaf, marries a daughter of the King of Scots ; but at the great battle of Clontarf in 1014, Sigurd is slain fighting on the side of his kinsmen, while the Scots army shares in the victory of Brian Boromhe and the Irish tribes. Thorfinn, son of Sigurd, is at war with King Duncan, but when Duncan is killed by his general Macbeth, the usurper is content to claim the Scots kingdom, leaving the north to Thorfinn. Earl Siward of Northumbria places Malcolm, son of Duncan, on the Cumbrian throne, and thus sets him up as a rival to the King of Scots ; Macbeth, who had slain his master, is himself slain in battle with his master's son. Malcolm was twice married, first to the widow of Thorfinn, and afterwards to the Saxon Margaret. These events are not merely of personal and dynastic interest ; they help us to understand the process by which tribes and races were welded into nations.

The second volume of Mr Skene's work is devoted to an account of the Celtic Churches. It would be easy to criticise the arrangement of these volumes, but if the author's plan has involved him in some repetition, it has the advantage of enabling him to deal more systematically with the history of institutions than is possible in a chronological record of events. The monastic Church of Ireland deserves separate study. It had its origin in a movement which spread over western Europe in the fourth century ; in the sixth century it is strong enough to furnish missionaries and teachers for many other countries, so that Scotland and great part of England stand indebted to Ireland for their first lessons in the faith. If the whole of England had been converted from the same quarter, a homogeneous Church might have been formed, strong enough to hold its own against Roman interference.

But there is in truth no reason to regret the victory of the Church of Augustine over the Church of Columba. Great as the services of the Irish Church were, its organisation was essentially weak and defective. The Irish have always had a genius for preaching and controversy ; they stirred the mind and moved the heart of western Europe as no other kind of men could have done ; but their ideas of order and policy were far behind the new ideas that were being introduced from Rome. There was a Roman party in the Irish Church itself, and Bonifacius, who brought the Picts into line with the rest of Christendom, is now believed to have been an emissary of this party, although the fabulists have chosen to represent him as

coming straight from Rome. Another tendency which helped to weaken the monastic system was the movement towards asceticism among those who had embraced the religious life. They deserted the monastery for the cell, and became anchorites or hermits. These solitary exercises were not unknown to the Columban Church, but it is only after the Romanisation of Scotland, after the expulsion of the Columban monks, that there arose an order of anchorites known as Ceile De, Culdees, companions of God. The Culdees, says Mr Skene, were clerics, and might be called monks, but only in the sense in which anchorites were monks. They were in the long run brought under the canonical rule, together with the secular clergy, retaining to some extent the nomenclature of the monastery, until the name of Culdee became almost synonymous with that of secular canon. This version of the facts is less picturesque than that which has found its way into popular histories, but Mr Skene holds that the silence of Adamnan and Bede proves that no order of Culdees was known to them as existing, or having existed, in the Celtic Church.

The greater part of Mr Skene's third volume is devoted to an account of the evolution of tribe and sept in Ireland, and to the corresponding evolution of tribe and clan in Scotland. The tribe precedes the clan: we begin with a tribe of about 700 fighting men, holding the tribal land in common, but allotting portions of it to the king or chief and his officers; other portions are allowed to become the inheritance of subordinate chiefs. It is the subordinate chief who forms a sept or clan of his own, consisting of his relatives, of his free and bond tenants and old adherents, and of the strangers and broken men who place themselves under his protection. In Ireland, the kindred form the sept, in a narrower sense of the word: they are arranged in an arbitrary group of seventeen persons, divided into four smaller groups, according to a rule which has been the theme of much controversy. There is less to be said in detail of the development of the Scottish clan, but the same influences which caused the formation of the sept were at work in this country; clans were formed, and the clans maintained their independent existence after the tribes, out of which they arose, had disappeared, and the tribe-lands had become feudal lordships. The genealogies of the clans have been worked over, and more or less falsified; first to bring them into harmony with the legendary but long accepted version of Scottish history, and also to furnish the chiefs occupying land with titles which would satisfy the feudalists. The clans have disappeared; the Court of Session has declared that they exist only "for peaceful pageantry, social enjoyment, and family tradition;" but we still have to take a practical interest in forms of land-tenure which grew out of the old tribal system. The land occupied by a

clan was divided into townships; some held by tacksmen, with cottars or sub-tenants under them; others held by a body of small tenants jointly. The tenants and sub-tenants of a township formed a kind of village community, holding their arable land in runrig, and their pasture in common. The runrig tenure was not favourable to agricultural improvement, but it possessed one advantage—the joint interest which it created tended to the discouragement of subdivision. But, in process of time, the runrig land was permanently divided into separate crofts. Fatal facilities were afforded for subdivision and subletting; and thus was created the class of crofters and cottars whose condition has lately engaged the attention of every politician. Mr Skene has given us a clear and sober picture of the facts, and his last chapter contains a most interesting description of the runrig system as it survives in the Outer Hebrides, from the pen of Mr Alexander Carmichael.

It is not easy, within the limits of a review, to do justice to such a book as *Celtic Scotland*. It is the fruit of many years of patient research, and the author may be sure that his labour has not been thrown away. All students of history are deeply indebted to him; and if we venture to criticise, it is only because he has himself supplied us with the materials of an independent judgment.

T. RALEIGH.

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### Einleitung in das Alte Testament.

*Von C. H. Cornill, Professor an der Universität Königsberg.  
Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh:  
Williams & Norgate. Pp. 325. Price 5s.*

THIS is the first of a series of "Scientific Outlines" projected by the enterprising firm of J. C. B. Mohr. The series is intended primarily for students, being designed to furnish them with a trustworthy sketch of each subject of study to which they can refer when hearing lectures more extended and filled with details. The idea is a very happy one, and scholars of the best repute in their various departments have been secured as contributors. The author of the present work is already well known by his scholarly book on the Text of Ezekiel. The compass of the manuals naturally precludes extended discussion, but the writers will not be expected merely to register results attained by others, they will offer independent contributions. In a subject like Old Testament Introduction, where all the questions have already been investigated in every aspect of them, there is little left for a new writer to do but exercise his judgment on the diverse conclusions that various scholars have reached, and adhere to one or other of them. The present author will probably be con-

sidered to err in the direction of excessive analysis. The differences which he founds upon as indicating separate authors or interpolations often seem too slight to sustain such conclusions. This is particularly apparent in the section on Deuteronomy and the passage dealing with the elements entering into the document J. (Jehovist), though, in the latter case, he reposes upon the fuller investigations of Budde. The same tendency is manifest in many other parts of his work, as in his analysis of Isaiah i. His sympathies are generally on the side of those who carry disintegration to an extreme. Perhaps, in producing a manual for general use, it would have been better if the author had put himself under some restraint, and given results which were generally accepted, throwing the minuter details which approved themselves to him and some others into notes. It must be confessed that the results of criticism pushed so far as he pushes it, when presented in the bald abstract form of an outline like the present, have a repulsive appearance, and seem little probable. The criticism of the Pentateuch is a great historical drama which needs to be put upon the stage with appropriate scenery and circumstance. When performed by a company of puppets called J. E. D. P., with all their little ones down to J<sup>3</sup> and P<sup>x</sup>, it loses its impressiveness. It will not be strange if some spectators mistake the nature of the performance, and go home with the impression that they have been witnessing a farce.

The book leaves the impression that the author's scholarship is sounder than his judgment. He is perhaps less to be trusted when he is conservative than when he is negative. His defence of the originality of the speeches of Elihu is more interesting than convincing. He thinks that the rôle assigned to Elihu was that of bringing Job back to reverence and reason, and that he was successful. But, if so, where was the need of the Divine speeches from the storm-cloud? The author permits himself to describe these speeches as "devilish mockery." By the use of such language he criticises himself better than any one else could do. And he fails to perceive that, if these speeches were addressed to a sufferer already brought back by Elihu to humility and contrition, they become ten-fold more diabolical. In spite of drawbacks, however, the book will prove a handy and useful compend. The two historical sketches of the progress of the science of Old Testament introduction, and of the criticism of the Pentateuch are extremely good and clear.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

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**Die Klagelieder des Jeremias.**

*Erklärt von Dr. Max Löhr. Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, Göttingen :  
London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 102.  
Price 3s.*

THOUGH too greatly neglected, the Book of Lamentations is one of the most instructive in the Old Testament. The details which it gives of the terrible sufferings endured in the siege of the city, the hopes of the people of help from Egypt, and their disappointments, and of the scenes of blood enacted within the walls by rival factions, are fresher and more full than anything supplied by history ; while the glimpses offered by it into the religious feelings and condition of mind of the generation surviving the fall of the city,—the profound sense of humiliation among the nations, the prostration under the calamity, and the weight of the unparalleled sin which had drawn down so unexampled a chastisement, more terrible in its prolonged miseries than that of Sodom which perished in a moment, and the flickerings of a faith in the future which looks almost as if it would expire, but which dies down only to leap up again higher than before—have a value second to nothing in the prophetic scriptures. With the exception of perhaps a few psalms, and some chapters in Ezekiel, this book alone casts any light on the state of the national mind during all the dark period stretching from Jeremiah to the second part of Isaiah. Any new contribution, therefore, to the understanding of it is very welcome, particularly a contribution so scholarly, and, at the same time, so lucid and concise as this commentary of Dr Löhr.

In an introduction, brief, but full and clear, Löhr discusses the usual preliminary questions of date, authorship, and place of composition. He considers that the affinities of the book with the language of Ezekiel prove conclusively the acquaintance of the author or authors with the prophet's writings, and he would fix the year 550 approximately as the date of composition. The last that we hear of Ezekiel is in the appendix from his own hand to his book of date 570 (ch. xxix. 17). So long as twenty years would hardly be necessary to make his book known, particularly if the Lamentations originated among the exiles in Babylon ; and the freshness of the pictures in the book is not so probable at so great a distance as thirty-six years from the fall of the city. If, however, so late a date could be assumed, some light might be cast on the difficult passage Isaiah lxiv., where there is the same vivid picture of the desolation of Jerusalem and the temple, and which has induced some scholars to assume—contrary to the natural sense of the words, and without any historical support—a second burning of the temple, possibly of the time of Nehemiah.

The question of authorship is complicated. As early as 2 Chr. xxxv. 25, a tradition connected the name of Jeremiah with the little book. The same tradition appears in the superscription to the book in the LXX., and has been transmitted to the present time. There is no support in the Hebrew text for the tradition, and in the Palestinian Canon the book was never connected with Jeremiah as in the Greek; and several things in the book, such as reference to the cessation of prophecy (ii. 9), the very favourable mention of king Zedekiah (iv. 20), and the trust in Egypt which the author shared (iv. 17), appear incompatible with Jeremiah's authorship. The diversity of opinion among modern scholars regarding the authorship of the various chapters is extraordinary, and nothing shews better the helplessness of criticism when it has to rely on internal evidence alone. Of Ch. iii., Steinthal remarks that "it forms the moral climax of the whole," while of the same chapter, Nöldeke says, "It has least value, and must in any case be assigned to a distinct poet." "That the writer of Ch. ii., iv.," says Thenius, "cannot have written Ch. i., iii., and v., it needs only a very moderate share of æsthetic feeling to perceive;" while Budde says, "I see no ground for denying that the author of Ch. ii., iv., wrote Ch. i." Stade and Budde agree that the author of Ch. i., ii., iv., cannot have written Ch. iii., but neither sees any ground for depriving him of the authorship of Ch. v., while Löhr attributes Ch. ii., iii., iv., to one author, but considers it impossible that he can have written Ch. i., v., the former chapter being wanting in clearness and the latter in contents. How shall he who occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen here? Of course, scholars must form their conclusions on the evidence which they think they perceive, and some may be right and others wrong, but the conflict of opinions is such that small weight is due to any of them. The arguments of Löhr, in favour of his particuilar view do not appear worth more than the arguments of others in favour of views altogether opposed to his. Perhaps Reuss is not far wrong when he finds in the attempts of scholars to distribute the five chapters among different writers nothing but a "prodigal waste of ingenuity."

Löhr advances an interesting theory as to the idea of the book. The proper kernel of it he considers to be Ch. ii.-iv., Ch. i. and v. being later additions made for the purpose of adapting the whole for public worship. He thinks it evident that Jeremiah is the hero of Ch. iii., and his theory is that when news of the death of the prophet reached the exiles in Babylon, one of his like-minded companions conceived the idea of bringing the beloved master into connection with the national catastrophe, and he introduces him as admonisher and comforter of the people in their misfortune, which is regarded as a Divine judgment for sin. Hence, in Ch., ii.-iv. he



addresses the city, testifying to it and comforting it as a prophet. The theory is not very natural, and this action within an action withdraws the real author from close relation to the people to whom he speaks, detracting from the earnestness of his work, to which it gives an air of artificiality. Löhr remarks that in Ch. ii.-iv. the speaker everywhere addresses Zion. But this is scarcely exact; in Ch. ii. Zion is for the most part spoken of, just as in i. 1-11, and in ii. 20 she speaks herself, as in i. 12, and uses the same words, *Behold, O Lord* (i. 20); and the community speaks also in iv. 17. There does not seem the slightest difference in manner between Ch. i. and ii.-iv. Further, if the real author makes Jeremiah the speaker, he puts into his mouth all those expressions and sentiments which modern scholars find alien to Jeremiah's mind, and upon which they decide that the composition is not his.

The part of Löhr's work devoted to Commentary is very careful though succinct, special attention being devoted to the affinities or differences between the language and that of Jeremiah. A more useful book could hardly be got.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

### Beiträge zur Aufhellung der Geschichte und der Briefe des Apostels Paulus.

Von Max Krenkel. Braunschweig, Schwetschke und Sohn; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. vii.-468. Price, M. 9.

THERE are various points of interest connected with this book to which, before looking at the special nature of its contents, it may not be amiss to advert for a moment. The first of these is the fact that such a book should have been published at all. A goodly 8vo volume of 468 pages is devoted to certain details connected with the person and personal history of St Paul that would hardly appear, at first sight, to call for the laborious investigation to which they are here subjected. That they are full of importance to the biblical student is unquestionable, but they hardly touch any great question as to the construction of the books of the New Testament, or the religious life. The scholar may love to pore over them. The minister or preacher of the Gospel, searching daily for hints for sermons, will naturally turn to other sources for the supply of his wants. The book could hardly have been published in Scotland. With all our professed esteem for theological and biblical enquiry, it would have obtained too few readers. In Germany food of the kind here supplied must either be much more cheaply accessible than among us, or there must be an appetite for it of which we

have little experience. The latter is probably the true explanation, and we cannot but envy a land where a diligent student may publish enquiries of the kind here presented to us with a calm and hopeful confidence that he will find men to read them.

Another point of interest connected with this work is the illustration which it affords of the spirit of German theological study, and of the laboriousness with which it collects from every quarter whatever may promise to throw the least ray of light upon the question discussed. It would be an excellent discipline for any Scotch divinity student to work his way through such a paper as that in this volume on St Paul's "Thorn in the Flesh," to turn up in the original every quotation made in it, and to judge for himself how far the conclusions drawn by the writer are to be justified or not. He would learn what that quiet study is which, under the pressure of endless organisations for all conceivable purposes, has almost disappeared from among us. Perhaps he would even learn to love it.

Once more, a third point of interest associated with this volume may be referred to, strikingly characteristic of the spirit of German investigation, though not so creditable to it as those already mentioned—its fondness for out-of-the-way conclusions, and its haste in coming to them. Who would expect, *e.g.*, that, after having proved to his own satisfaction that St Paul's "thorn" was liability to epileptic fits, the author should endeavour to make out that the Apostle's vision of the Risen Lord on the way to Damascus was nothing more than one of these? How could one liable to fits of the kind, who would be aware when the fit was coming on, and who could hardly fail to be acquainted with the symptoms of its departure,—symptoms entirely different from those then experienced by him,—be so greatly mistaken as to the experience through which he had passed? An epileptic fit could scarcely have changed the whole course of the Apostle's life, or been that of which he ever afterwards boasted that it had made him what he was.

Krenkel's book consists of eight papers of very different lengths—The Birthplace of the Apostle; Was St Paul originally named Saul?; Was the Apostle ever Married?; The Thorn in the Flesh spoken of in 2 Cor. xii. 7-9; The Fight with Beasts at Ephesus, 1 Cor. xv. 32; The Personal and Epistolary Intercourse of St Paul with the Church at Corinth; Elucidations of certain passages in 1 Cor.; and The Genuine Parts of the Pastoral Epistles. It is impossible to speak of so many papers individually. One or two only need be noticed, and from them the general character of the book may be inferred.

The second paper of the series is occupied with the question which has so often and so long interested inquirers as to the

original name of the Apostle of the Gentiles. When circumcised, did he receive from his father the name "Saul," and, if so, when and why was he afterwards named "Paul"? Krenkel's conclusion is that he must have received a Hebrew name at his circumcision, though what it was we have no means of knowing. It could not have been Saul, because that name represented to a pious and strict Jew, such as the Apostle's father, not a noble and divinely-favoured hero of Jewish history, but one whose hands were stained with the murder of God's priests, and who had been pursued to his destruction by the Divine wrath which he had so justly provoked. The name "Saul" rather sprang from the horror with which the *Christian* community regarded the persecutor of the infant Church. What story of the Old Testament would live more in the minds of men than the story which told of Saul's repeated and cruel persecutions of the lion-hearted yet tender David? And now, again, the true David, the true King of Israel, was suffering at the hands of a cruel persecutor, of another Saul: let him bear the odious name. The name "Paul," again, was given to commemorate the victory of the Apostle over Sergius Paulus recorded in Acts xiii., just as conquerors sometimes took the name of the nations which they subdued as a name of honour to themselves.

The theory is ingenious, but not convincing. We have no space for a lengthened argument, and shall therefore only say that what seems to us the view to be taken of the important words *ὁ καὶ Παῦλος*, in Acts xiii. 9, is at once fatal to Krenkel's argument, and suggestive of the explanation of this whole matter. As generally interpreted, the words now quoted are supposed to mean simply that Saul, who had just appeared before the Proconsul, received from this time onward another name, and that we must be careful to identify him with the Paul of whom, and of the success of whose mission, we are to read in the remainder of the book. The *καὶ* of the words is thus understood to refer only to the *Σαῦλος* immediately preceding. This view of the situation fails to do justice to the light in which the writer of the Acts beholds it. The *καὶ* leads us to the thought, not of *Σαῦλος* only, but of the Proconsul Sergius Paulus in ver. 7; and here is the scene. To the eye of the writer of the book,—who, it must not be lost sight of, is dealing with facts as they occurred,—the Proconsul represents the powers and dignities of this world. In the Apostle he sees the representation of the power of the Kingdom of God, just sent forth upon its mission to overcome the world (ver. 2); while Elymas suggests to him the kingdom of lies and darkness. Elymas stands between the Proconsul and the Apostle, endeavouring to persuade the one to listen to him and resisting the other. The writer of the Acts is struck with the fact that the two who constitute, as it

were, the side-figures of the picture, have the same name. It heightens to him the interest of the spectacle. If we see one *Paulus* in danger of yielding to demoniacal powers raging for their prey, we see also another *Paulus* who strikes the sorcerer blind, driving him back into that kingdom of darkness to which he belongs, and so bringing the Proconsul to the light that "he believed, being astonished at the teaching of the Lord" (ver. 12). Such seems to be the force of the *ὁ καὶ Παῦλος*; and, if the remarks now made are correct, it is obvious that it is distinctly implied in the words that the Apostle had been known by the name "Paul" before this time.

It is indeed difficult to think that that name could have been given him only now. Had it been so given, the historian would certainly have brought out his meaning with greater clearness. The mode in which he expresses himself rather implies that "Paul" was a name as really belonging to the Apostle as "Saul." "Saul" was, no doubt, what we should call the baptismal name; but the child was "free-born" (Acts xxii. 28); the boy, the youth, grew up possessing the privileges of a Roman citizen; "Paulus" is a Roman name; and, as it so closely resembled "Saulus," differing from it by no more than a single letter, nothing would be more natural than for the future Apostle's companions to change the one name into the other whenever they would reproach or ridicule him. The interest of the inquiry consists in this, that if there be truth in what we have said, the name "Paul," borne by the Apostle, and which he so often applies to himself, was a name by the use of which it was customary to depreciate rather than exalt him. In his very name he bore a cross like that of his Master, who had been called "The Nazarene."

We can do no more than notice one other of the papers in this volume—that on "St Paul's Thorn in the Flesh," spoken of in 2 Cor. xii. 7-9. The paper is one which illustrates in a greater than ordinary degree both the strength and weakness of the writer. In the elaborateness of its investigations, in the multitude of its references, and in the almost startling conclusiveness with which some of them appear at first sight to establish the point which the author has in view, the paper could hardly be surpassed. Take, *e.g.*, the manner in which the word *ἐξέπτύσατε* in Gal. iv. 14 is dealt with, "And that which was a temptation to you in my flesh ye despised not nor rejected" (Gr. *sput out*. R.V. margin). Some illness is obviously alluded to; but Krenkel finds no example in Greek of the language used of it. Plautus, however, is known to have drawn largely in his plays from the lower Greek comedy, and in one of them he speaks of a disease *qui sputatur*. A disease of this kind, we further learn, was epilepsy, in the presence of which men were accustomed to spit, in order that they might keep away the

chance of infection from themselves. When, therefore, St Paul, in passing through Galatia, was attacked by this disease, the Galatians showed their regard for him by not undervaluing him on that account, and by not resorting to the act of spitting, which in other circumstances they would certainly have done. Such is the argument, and it is illustrated by a wealth of quotation from ancient writers, both medical and other, bearing striking witness to the author's industry. Yet it is not conclusive. Its foundation even is weak, for the language of Plautus, "*Et illic isti qui sputatur morbus interdum venit*," suggests the thought, not of spitting by bystanders, but of the sick man himself. Or, there is even a possibility that the spittle may have been regarded as a means of cure. It is at least well known that spittle was so used in ancient times. (Comp. Mark vii. 33, viii. 23, and the writer's commentary on St John's Gospel, chap. ix. 7); and the physician Hieronymus speaks of a kind of ulcer, *quod sputo curetur* (see Krenkel, p. 75). In this light, the various reading *insputatur* is also worthy of note. Not only, however, is the foundation of Krenkel's argument thus weak, there is a want of proof that spitting on the part of those brought into proximity with disease was resorted to in the case of epilepsy more than in various other complaints. It appears rather to have been a refuge of persons alarmed by the presence of any contagious illness, and the expression might therefore have been appropriate to many other "infirmities of the flesh" beside that with which the Apostle is thus credited.

From what has been said, it must not be imagined that Krenkel rests his case upon this point alone. There is much else upon which he lays weight, but it is hardly more conclusive. Symptoms common to epilepsy with other diseases do not prove that the patient who exhibits them is epileptic. For ourselves, we must confess that the view which supposes St Paul's "thorn" to have been some serious affection of the eyes possesses much more probability than this epileptic theory; and nowhere is that view set forth in a more interesting and, if we may speak of conviction in the case, a more convincing manner than in the late Dr John Brown's Essay on the subject in his *Hore Subsecivæ*.

To whatever extent, however, Krenkel may, up to this point, win the approval of the student, it is surely too much to endeavour to persuade us that the Apostle's vision on his way to Damascus was simply an attack of this epileptic disease to which he was subject. That he then falls to the ground but is able to rise again with assistance; that he loses his sight for three days; and that after three days, the interval of rest prescribed by the physicians of the time for a patient who had had an epileptic fit, he takes food and recovers, is but a frail basis upon which to construct the theory. That an

incident so circumstantially narrated, bearing not the least resemblance to an epileptic attack, and pregnant with such mighty consequences to the person immediately concerned in it, should have been no more than the outburst of a disease alike weakening to mind and body, involves such improbabilities that it would need the strongest evidence to establish it. If ever there was a life bearing no marks of being touched by epilepsy, it would seem to be St. Paul's. Not only before, but after his conversion, this poor victim of so prostrating a malady has the clearest convictions as to the end at which he aims, and the most determined tenacity of purpose. His intellectual eye undimmed; his words weighty and powerful; his reasoning sweeping everything before it in its rush; his affections, his emotions, his passions of love and pity, of praise and scorn, instead of being dulled, of the swiftest and the keenest kind! And then his labours, his burdens, his sufferings, never complained of, never ending, each lending him a fresh impulse with which to rise more joyously over the next swelling wave! What a sight does it all present to us! Let any one read the eleventh chapter of 2 Corinthians, and say whether the man who wrote that was an epileptic, and whether the event in his life to which he constantly traced the beginning and the spring of his new career was a fit of epilepsy. Certainly he would himself have known it, and himself have told it. Most men will need stronger evidence to make them believe this than the facts that, should an epileptic fall, he may rise again if some one help him, that an epileptic may be blind for three days after an attack, that the doctors recommend food after three days are past, and that all this happened in the case of Saul at the ever-memorable period of his conversion.

Our space will not permit us to say more of this interesting book. We can only commend it as a work of rare industry, and as never failing to throw light, even when its conclusions may not be accepted, upon the questions to which it is devoted.

W. MILLIGAN.

### Natural Theology.

*The Gifford Lectures, delivered before the University of Edinburgh in 1891, by Professor Sir G. G. Stokes, Bart., M.P. London, A. & C. Black. Cr. 8vo, pp. 272. Price 3s. 6d.*

THERE are few men of science in Europe whose utterances carry with them greater weight than Sir Gabriel Stokes. Even when his discourse concerns matters outside those domains in which he is our highest authority, it commands our respectful attention and consideration. He who, in so many respects, and so worthily, has followed in the footsteps of Sir Isaac Newton, shows also this like-

ness to his great predecessor, that he bears his testimony to the belief that science and the religion of Christ are in no ways incompatible.

The ten lectures contained in this volume constitute Sir G. Stokes' first course of Gifford Lectures. If we may judge from numerous passages in these pages, the task of their composition under the conditions imposed by the trust was neither easy nor congenial to the author, who seems to have felt the limitations prescribed in the will of the founder to be serious hindrances to the setting forth, in a continuous and united sequence, of his views on the subject of Natural Theology. Indeed, at the outset, he gravely doubts the possibility of attaining the noble object of Lord Gifford in the manner indicated by the terms of the bequest. Here and there in the lectures he goes to the utmost limit permitted, in drawing for hints concerning things spiritual on those sources of information which are derived, not directly from Nature, but from Revelation; using them, however, in a perfectly legitimate way as suggestive of means of deducing lessons from Nature. It is probably owing to this sense of restriction that the matter of the lectures often appears to be in some degree disconnected; but the careful reader will, without much difficulty, perceive the under-current in the mind of the lecturer which forms the real, although not the expressed thread of connection in the succession of thought.

The examination of the evidence furnished by Nature of the existence of God, is the first portion of the lecturer's work. The sense of personal responsibility which is so widespread, in fact almost universal, among men of all degrees of civilisation, implies the recognition of a power outside ourselves to whom we are responsible. Hence the belief in the existence of such a power is equally widespread, being the objective correlative of this subjective sense of obligation.

Following out this line of thought, the lecturer then develops in a simple and forcible manner the argument from causation, and the relation which we cannot help assuming between the laws of Nature and a lawgiver lying behind the remotest causes. From the existence of free will in ourselves he argues that we cannot deny a similar freedom to the great First Cause; and this being granted, the possibility of miracles, which are forth-puttings of free-will on the part of God, necessarily follows.

As there are certain conditions of matter which cannot occur, because they involve geometrical impossibilities, Sir G. Stokes surmises that there may be similar limitations in other spheres, such as the moral and spiritual; limitations having their origin in the nature of things, and barring the possibility of certain occurrences. Such limitations may be causative of conditions (such as the need for

suffering), which at first sight seem to be incompatible with our conceptions of a perfectly loving God. This portion of the theme is suggestive, and would bear expansion.

When the lecturer takes the argument from design into consideration, he is naturally led to consider what bearing the evolution hypothesis has upon the belief in final causes. To many minds the force of any teleological argument is undoubtedly weakened by the adoption of any form of the theory of development. It is difficult to free ourselves from anthropomorphic ideas when we contemplate the creation of the universe, and hence we have a tendency to assume that the fundamental qualities which render evolution possible lie outside the sphere of the evolution. Sir G. Stokes points out that it is in the existence of these qualities in the initial stage of matter that the design has its real origin and seat, and therefore, although evolution puts back the stage at which there was an immediate working of creative power to the beginning, yet it cannot eliminate it altogether.

Having defined evolution as a process or chain of successive effects, he considers that we have no right to assume that the process is capable of an infinite extension backwards. He assumes that there was an initial stage of primordial homogeneity, and does not take into consideration the hypothesis of cycles of successive integration and disintegration extending backwards indefinitely into the by-past eternity.

It is interesting to note that, as a physicist, the lecturer perceives the force of the arguments in favour of cosmic evolution, and definitely accepts that view of the origin of the universe; while those facts in organic life which furnish to the biologist equally unanswerable arguments in favour of organic evolution do not seem to impress him as being equally cogent. He considers Natural Selection as a sort of self-acting mechanism whereby the adaptation of structure to surrounding conditions is secured. The bearing of the argument from design is very strikingly illustrated with reference to the mechanism of the eye, probably the most difficult problem with which the philosophic exponent of evolution has to grapple.

The conception of God as the Great First Cause naturally leads to the consideration of Personality as attributed to Him. This is dealt with in a simple, forcible and eloquent section, which ends with an exposition of the lecturer's views as to the possibility of man's holding communion with God.

The origin of man is that portion of the evolution hypothesis which comes most directly into relation with the science of Natural Theology, and on this the lecturer speaks at some length. Having stated the two views tenable on the subject—evolution or special creation—he adopts the latter. His first ground for this preference



is that as yet no links have been found between man and the nearest allies of man on the animal side ; a gap which he considers too wide to be bridged by hypothesis. This is a dangerous argument upon which to lay much stress, as every year adds to our knowledge in the science of Palæontology. The number of such linking forms which fill other gaps in the chain of animal life is great, and each year's researches adds to the catalogue. The forms of animal life which are most nearly allied to man are all of limited geographical range, and, by hypothesis, the ancestral forms of man before they were fitted by reason to accommodate themselves to a wider range of environments, were probably equally limited in range ; and we know so very little of the quaternary geology of the districts in which man probably originated, the only place in which the remains of such links could be found, that this *argumentum ad ignorantiam* is not as yet one which carries much weight. The second reason given is a singular one—that those forms which come nearest to man in organisation show very little evidence of a corresponding advance in intelligence. The force of this is not easily estimated.

The lecturer does not take into consideration the evidence on the other side derived from the morphology of the human body, such as the bearing of rudimental organs, of homologies, of the evidence from embryology—the grounds upon which the hypothesis of human evolution has been raised. He passes this by in one paragraph, stating that man living as an animal requires a structure similar to that of an animal. When referring to the morphological constitution of animals (p. 48), he admits that these peculiarities of structure are probably due to the operation of secondary causes—that is, of evolutionary processes ; but in reference to man he is prepared to make no such admission.

The reason for the adoption of the creation hypothesis is its bearing upon man's moral nature in its relation to sin and to the moral government of God. If man's spiritual nature be the product of an evolution, sin must have grown up with it, as sinning is a part of our nature. By this theory God is the author of sin, and we need never expect to be freed from it, nor can we anticipate serious consequences therefrom, for God will not hold us seriously responsible for what is inherent in the nature He has given us by the inevitable operation of the laws which He has established. Besides, there can be no immortality for man upon this hypothesis, unless the same can be postulated of his ancestry to an indefinite extent backwards.

There are two processes, diverse in themselves, which seem to be confounded in this train of reasoning. The acts which we call sin—such as gluttony, violence, &c.—are acts which are perpetrated by many animals as the outcomes of the natures which they possess,

and if these natures have come into being in the course of a divinely ordered evolution, then these acts are the product of such an evolution.

What gives these acts a moral import is their relation to our sense of responsibility. The consciousness that such acts ought not to be done, is the primary intuition of man's moral nature, and the sin of the act depends on this recognition of moral obligation coupled with the consciousness that we possess potentially an ability of free choice to do such things as we believe we ought to do, and to shun those which we ought not, or *vice versa*.

All civilised nations recognise this in their systems of legislation. Men are not regarded as responsible for acts committed in conditions of mental disease obliterating the sense of obligation, such as dementia or idiocy. The French Code explicitly declares that there can be no crime nor offence if the accused be in a state of insanity at the time of the act; and although our law is not so specifically codified, yet we have had many legal pronouncements of the same nature. Lord Mansfield in one celebrated judgment laid it down that a madman was no more responsible for his act than a wild beast. Law also recognises that free will is a factor in determining the degree of culpability, and we have had it lately argued in a celebrated case that persons are irresponsible for acts committed when in a state of hypnotism, and the plea was only disallowed because it was not quite clear as to whether the free will of the suggestee was completely suspended in the process.

The real question in connection with the ethical bearing of the mode of origin of man is not whether this disposition to acts of sin be inherent in our nature, but rather, has the human race started into being with these two qualities,—a conscience, and free will in perfection? From the moment that these become factors capable of controlling his actions his responsibility begins, whether he have or have not the impulse to sin in his nature. We know too little of the psychology of the higher animals to warrant us in pronouncing definitely as to the existence in them of the germ of this consciousness; we certainly know enough to make us hesitate in a categorical denial of its existence. The evolutionist can make out a case stronger than Sir G. Stokes is prepared to admit, in support of his thesis that the sense of moral obligation is one of which there are traces in some of the lower forms of life, thereby giving a certain degree of probability to the view that it has been produced in man's ancestors by a process of mental differentiation. If, in order that man might receive this special endowment, it had been necessary that he should be brought into being by a special creative act, in contradistinction to the method used in the creation of other animals, then, in the light of man's history, it might be argued

that, despite this new departure, there had been, for the majority of mankind, a failure in the accomplishment of the end in view. If it were necessary to create man by a special process in order that he might be endowed with free will, the hypothesis virtually denies free will to the lower creation. The ass of the old paradox, placed at an equal distance from two equally attractive bundles of thistles, must starve! But we know that he will not starve, and those who have devoted the most attention to comparative psychology predicate the existence of a power of free will in animals which it is hard to differentiate in kind from that possessed by man.

The moral and spiritual side of the question of the origin of man is beset with difficulties, on any hypothesis; and even the special creation hypothesis is not, to many minds, as clear a way out of the profound mystery of the origin of sin as it seems to be to the mind of the lecturer. Nor does it of itself give us a rational theory of the immortality of the soul and of the future state, when we shut out the light which Revelation casts upon these subjects. Even here the lecturer is obliged to admit that if there is to be a future life we must look for it directly to the Great First Cause, for it is tantamount to the forth-putting anew of creative power.

There is an interesting speculation as to the indications which Nature gives us of a future existence in eternity, suggested by the power we possess of imagining indefinitely extended historic possibilities in the future, contrasted with our inability to conceive of an eternal historic succession in time past. Future moral righting of the wrongs of this life is also set forth as indicating a life to come; and if man's indefinite capability of improvement, and of the acquisition of knowledge, were to be cut short by death, would it be a glaring violation of the teleological law of adaptation to requirements. The power possessed by successive generations of men, of profiting by the stores of knowledge accumulated by their predecessors, is pointed out as intensifying this violation, were death to end all. It is possible, however, to show that in lower animals there is such a capacity of education by hereditary training, as in the case of the faculty of "pointing" in dogs.

Space will not allow us to follow Sir Gabriel Stokes in his references to the large number of subordinate topics which he has touched on in his lectures; the range of these subjects, both practical and theoretical, is very wide. The sections on the consequences of moral acts, on suffering either direct or vicarious as necessary for moral restoration, on the moral advantage of freedom of choice, on the relations existing between free will and foreknowledge, on benevolence in its various forms—all these are suggestive, and worthy of study.

Here and there the lecturer draws upon his vast stores of knowledge of physical science for illustrations, and these are so apt and well put that the reader wishes for more of them, and hails with pleasure the promise which he gives that the course of lectures to be delivered next year will be of a more directly scientific character than that of the past year.

The style of the composition is easy, colloquial, and simple ; and the lectures are eminently readable, varied, and interesting.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

### **Hand-commentar zum Neuen Testament.**

*Band II., Abtheilung 1. Briefe an die Thessalonicher und an die Korinther bearbeitet von P. W. Schmiedel (8vo, pp. xvi., 276 ; price 4s. 6d.). Band IV. Abth. 1. Johanneisches Evangelium bearbeitet von Holtzmann (8vo, pp. viii.-206). Abth. 2. Briefe und Offenbarung des Johannes bearb. von Holtzmann (8vo, pp. 209-327) ; price of B. IV., 5s. Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate.*

THIS commentary has already approved itself as perfectly achieving its purpose, to present in the most condensed form possible the results regarding the origin and meaning of the books of the New Testament, which have been reached by the most scientific school of critics in Germany. Its four authors, Holtzmann, Lipsius, Von Soden, and Schmiedel, are scholars of the first rank. No one would, for a moment, suspect them of being swayed by traditional opinion, although possibly they are not all and always free from bias in the opposite direction. They represent what would be accepted in Germany as the scientific school. There are men who are much more advanced, but with much less influence. There are men with whose opinions on many critical points a more general agreement would be found among ourselves, but such scholars are always suspected of the damning vice of being unscientific. The value of the *Hand-commentar* is that we have in it the opinions, decisions, and results reached by the free scientific criticism of our own day.

But the intrinsic value of the book is also very great. No men could have been chosen for the work whose exegetical perception is more penetrating and trustworthy, whose attention is more close, who have more completely assimilated or who more freely handle the best exegetical methods for ascertaining the meaning of any literary text. They have given us in the most compact form the results of the most competent study. Consequently, the book is a book for students, not for general readers. It is a book, indeed, which must be studied line by line, and word by word, for often in

a single word an opinion is indicated which cannot have been formed without hours of toil and thought. He who brings most to the book will find most. He will see the pregnancy of each reference to another Biblical passage, the suggestion conveyed by a new turn given to the translation, the felicitous barring out of theological error by the inexpugnable bolt of a grammatical rule.

Of the parts now before us, Prof. Holtzmann's contribution on the Gospel of St John is the most important. Beginning, as the Authors recommend us, with the Exegesis and afterwards proceeding to the Introduction, we find a most exact consideration of the text and an exposition so full of originality in details, and so abounding in light throughout, that we cannot but accept it as a definite addition even to the already voluminous literature on this Gospel. But while the Author never fails to throw fresh light on the words, or to put more convincingly and directly what has elsewhere already been said, his aim throughout is to undermine the historicity of the record. Thus, after most lucidly expounding the paragraph which narrates the "Marriage at Cana," he proceeds to shew that this account is merely an allegory, a richly artistic *Lehr-dichtung*. The water is a sensible sign of all which as yet was merely symbol, not spirit and truth. The water-butts which served for the ceremonial of Judaism, contained the water which, through Jesus, was to be turned into wine, outwardly purifying water into life-strengthening wine. The helplessness of the old became apparent, to legal Judaism "the wine failed;" and the mother of the Messiah, that is, according to Apoc. xii. 1, the Old Testament, appealed to him, and so on, and so on. And yet people tell us that Strauss is dead. The only proof which Holtzmann offers that an allegory was intended is that it is possible to find an allegory in the narrative. But, as every student of mythology knows, that is possible in any narrative, whether it be the life of Julius Cæsar, or the career of Napoleon Bonaparte. Besides, where allegory was meant, as in the saying about the Temple of Jesus' body, the writer of the fourth Gospel does not scruple to point it out.

The same method is applied to the reported sayings of Jesus. Thus, in xiv. 20, and in other passages, we have the expression of the Christian consciousness of the time of the evangelist. The whole Gospel, in short, becomes a perfect mirror of the faith of the first half of the second century, but not by any means a record we can trust for giving us a faithful account of what our Lord said or did. The claims to pre-existence and equality with the Father are put into our Lord's lips by the faith of the second century, if we may not say, by the ordinary mythological tendency to magnify and embellish a great personage. Schürer and other critics have persuaded themselves that the date of this Gospel is immaterial. Its importance

consists in its being a reflection of the faith of its author's time. This attitude of mind towards the Gospel takes for granted that Christian faith and Christian life must have truth at their root. This, however, is a large assumption. Misplaced confidence, unmerited love, misconception of fact, have produced many great actions, and have in some instances even built up a great faith and a worthy character. To know what the followers of Christ thought of Him, and to see the kind of life their faith built up, is indeed valuable testimony; but still more valuable is it to know what He thought of Himself, and claimed to be. Although all authentic records of the life of Jesus were lost, it might be possible to read in the lives of Christian people sufficient evidence of His present life and power. The Christian character and the Christian hope are the highest known. The Christian character is purer and finer, and, therefore, in the last resort, even stronger than the Mohammedan; and a careful and earnest inquirer might, in favourable circumstances, come to a deep conviction that He who originates and upholds this character is capable of saving energy. But how infinitely clearer and surer does this evidence become when we can read the very words of Christ, and examine His own claims and promises and power.

Holtzmann, in common with all who cheapen the historical value of the Fourth Gospel, betrays a remarkable shyness of the external testimonies to its authenticity. Indeed, it verges on culpable suppression of fact, to say that "express and direct witnesses are scarcely at our command before the last quarter of the second century." What of Tatian, and what of Basileides? This very shyness of the external evidence is a strong proof of its cogency.

MARCUS DODS.

### **Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament.**

*Bearbeitet von H. J. Holtzmann, R. A. Lipsius, P. W. Schmiedel, H. von Soden. Dritter Band, Erste Abtheilung: Die Briefe an d. Kolosser, Epheser, Philemon, Die Pastoralbriefe; bearbeitet von Prediger H. v. Soden. Large 8vo. pp. vii.-255. Price: M. 4.50, in Paper.*

*Zweiter Band, Zweite Abtheilung: Die Briefe an d. Galater, Römer, Philipper; bearbeitet von Professor R. A. Lipsius. Large 8vo, pp. viii.-236. Price: M. 4, in Paper. Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.*

THESE two sections complete, within two years from its commencement, the new *Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament*. An estimate was given in the first number of this Review (pp. 41-49) of previous parts of this valuable commentary. What was there said

concerning the general character of von Soden's work in the second division of Vol. III., applies equally to the first division, in which he expounds Colossians, Ephesians, Philemon, and the Pastorals. One has never seen in any commentary pages so solidly packed with original matter, rarely pages from which a prepared reader could learn so much in so short a time. The object of the Hand-Commentar is to present "the results of scientific work in the investigation of the New Testament" in the form of a "continuous, precise, readable, and manageable commentary," without further disquisition than is necessary to indicate the grounds of the interpretations advanced. Both in matter and form, the work answers fully to its purpose, understanding the word "scientific" in the sense of the editors. Its outlook is purely modern, and, as one might say, professional; the writers seldom refer to any authority outside Germany, or earlier than F. C. Baur. But, judged within these limits and upon its own ground, the new German Commentary, as it is represented by these two samples, is a piece of solid, thorough, and skilful workmanship, that well deserves the attention of English scholars.

Von Soden is here on debatable ground, every inch of which has been fought over in the critical schools of Germany. In regard to *Colossians* (with *Philemon*) he ranges himself unreservedly on the side of the Pauline authorship. This judgment is of great value, coming from the representative of a rigorously scientific Biblical criticism, and from the collaborateur of Holtzmann, who in his laborious *Kritik der Epheser u. Kolosserbriefe* (1872), endeavoured to rob St. Paul of everything distinctive and vital in this Epistle. Von Soden himself retracts objections which he had previously advanced against Chapter i. 15-20, and some verses in Chapter ii. He finds in *Philippians*, very largely, the basis for the verification of the Pauline character of *Colossians*; and the same line of argument might have led him (perhaps may lead him?) by the aid of *Philippians* and *Colossians* together to verify *Ephesians* and the *Pastorals*.

*Ephesians* he attributes to a large-minded Jewish Christian of the Dispersion, living about the turn of the century, who "combined a high spirit of inspiration, and bold speculation, with practical sense and clear insight, mystical inwardness of piety, a fine appreciation of the ethical consequences of the new faith, and genial ability," in his attempt to develop Paul's conception of the Church, so as to unify by its means the various (Jewish and Gentile) Christian communities existing in his days. Von Soden spends much of the precious space due to the exposition of the Epistle itself, in shewing how Paul's successor worked up the old Pauline material. Where a phrase agrees closely with a former Epistle, he says *Reminiscenz aus* or *an* so and so: where it differs, *geht über Paulus aus* (it goes beyond

*Paul* !) This grows monotonous ; and one begins to suspect that it must be *Paul* surely who is remembering himself so well ; and to ask, Is it possible that any second writer should have followed so closely, and with this subtle persistence, in the track of earlier Epistles, and yet have so boldly struck out beyond them ; should have been at once so dependent and so independent, a man of such original and rare genius as v. Soden makes him out, and yet so slavish and submissive an imitator ? Here is a psychological problem which a "scientific" criticism is bound to solve.

The *Pastorals* are, in his view, a few years later than *Ephesians*, dating probably from the reign of Trajan. In neither the *Pastorals* nor *Ephesians* can he see anything of the allusions to Montanism, Valentinian or Marcionite Gnosticism, or to non-Episcopal Catholicism with which the Tübingen school have so long entertained themselves. This dismissal, coming from such a quarter, is a clear gain to criticism. The sentence in which, at the end of his *Einleitung* to the *Pastorals*, von Soden seeks to reconcile inauthenticity with canonicity is worth quoting : "The strict piety with which the heritage of apostolic truth is guarded ; the pure and deeply religious ethics in which the direct consequences of the Christian faith are drawn out and applied ; the earnestness with which, in preference to theoretical ends, the practical edification of the Church is pursued ; the cautious and measured way in which outward institutions are appraised, while everything is made to depend on the personal representation of Christianity in the Christian personality ; the chaste, severe style and temper, that allows not a word to escape that does not touch the immediate interests of the Christian life,—these qualities furnish a full justification of the canonization of the three Epistles, even though their author was an unknown Greek Christian who lived at the beginning of the second century." This is a different sort of estimate, framed in a different temper, from that of Baur and Pfleiderer. Indeed, we could wish for many who believe the Pauline authorship of the letters, that they could appreciate them as this disbeliever does. But we must again say of the author he describes : If this be not Paul, it is *his double* !

On the whole, we regard v. Soden's findings upon the questions of the higher criticism as indicating an approximation between the "critical" and "believing" exegesis, and a better understanding in regard to the Pauline Antilegomena. Underneath his "scientific" coolness and impartiality, we can sometimes detect, nevertheless, the religious spirit of this *Prediger* commentator, as when he says on Eph. iv. 14, rendering ἐν τ. κυβείῃ τ. ἀνθρώπων, rightly as we judge, *in the sport of men* : "conduct wanting in any kind of earnestness or definite aim ; these people play with religion and with the wel-



fare of Christian souls." Again, on Chap. vi. 16, *the shield of faith, with which you will be able to quench all the fiery darts of the Evil One*: "Future, because the whole duration of the struggle is in view. The entire future is assured to faith."

We must not be tempted to dwell on the details of exposition. Two disputed passages only will we mention. He rejects the conjectural emendations of ἀέώρακεν ἐμβατεύων in Col. ii. 15, rendering the words, with Meyer, *parading what he hath seen*, and explaining them as an ironical allusion to the alleged angel-visions by which the pretensions of the false teacher were supported. In Eph. i. 1 he argues that no local designation can have been intended, reading *to the saints, which are also faithful, in Christ Jesus*. This is the view of von Hofmann also, and of Beck (in his posthumous *Erklärung* just to hand)—interpreters who differ widely from each other, and from the school of v. Soden; it deserves more consideration than English exegetes have given it. V. Soden's treatment of the doctrine of *angels* in Colossians and Ephesians is remarkable, and somewhat novel; it agrees, in the main, with that put forward by Klöpffer in his learned commentary on Colossians. They are no longer, it seems, to be regarded in the common superficial way as "good" or "bad," and fixed in their characters; but as imperfect beings, struggling for dominion over men, needing correction and even salvation like ourselves, and capable of receiving it from Christ or rejecting it.

Of Lipsius' work on *Galatians*, *Romans*, and *Philippians* it is less necessary to write at length, as the author himself is so much better known. The name of R. A. Lipsius, of Jena, stands among the highest in German theological science. His work has been hitherto mainly in dogmatics and early Church history; and he brings to exegesis powers proved in other fields. His interpretation impresses us by its judicial weight and clearness, its masculine sense and seasoned strength. There is no evasion in Lipsius or explaining away of such terms as ἀπολύτρωσις, καταλλαγή, δικαίωσις, ὁργή Θεοῦ. We are bound to say, for the historico-critical school in general, that where their historical theories are out of the way—where, admitting that Paul wrote the document, it becomes simply a question of *what he meant in it*—these scholars read him with a straightforwardness, freshness, and reality too often wanting in others. Had the Apostle the choice, he would prefer, doubtless, to be represented by men who receive only half-a-dozen of his letters, but allow him to speak for himself in these, rather than by men who accept the entire thirteen without a scruple, and then read out of them their own ecclesiastical, philosophical, or sentimental prepossessions, "broad" or "high" as the case may be. Indeed, what strikes us most in examining Lipsius' exegesis of the great

doctrinal passages in Romans is the accord between the findings of advanced scientific investigation and of a simple evangelical faith.

The only interpolations he admits in these three writings are Rom. xi. 9, 10 ; xv. 19b, 20 ; 23, 24 ; 28 ; xvi. 25-27 ; and possibly v. 7. Chap. xvi. 1-20 he entitles, "A letter of recommendation for the deaconess Phœbe to the Church of *Ephesus*." A full and interesting discussion on the constituency of the Church of Rome, in the *Einleitung*, leads to the conclusion that it was of a mixed Judæo-Gentile origin ; and that while the Gentiles may have formed the majority, the Jewish membership, taking its character from the mother Church in Jerusalem, had a preponderating influence ; and that the Epistle is mainly addressed to this side of the Church.

GEORGE G. FINDLAY.

### The Evidence of Christian Experience.

*By Lewis French Stearns. New York: Scribners ; London: Nisbet & Co. Cr. 8vo. pp. viii. 473. Price 7s. 6d.*

MANY are at present on the outlook for a new Apologetic. The systems of last century still hold the field, but they do not fill it. Such new phenomena as Evolution, Criticism, and the Science of Religions have raised difficulties which Butler and Paley do not touch. The time is, no doubt, ripening for a new development, which will embrace all the new knowledge ; but it has not yet arrived. Meantime, we have to content ourselves with partial attempts to satisfy the living thought of the day.

In many quarters the Argument from Experience appears to be experiencing a revival. There is the great book of Frank, a portion of which has been translated into English, but, unfortunately, under a title without savour, *The Christian Certainty*. In one of the American colleges (Delaware, Ohio) there is a foundation for lectures on the subject, which has already begun to produce a crop of books. Dr Dale has recently stated the argument, in his own sane and vigorous style, in *The Living Christ and the Four Gospels*. But the completest treatment of it yet given in English is this work of Professor Stearns, of Bangor, Maine, which was produced as a course of Ely Lectures in Union Theological Seminary, New York.

The subject is most systematically handled. Not only is the evidence itself in its genesis and growth discussed ; but there are weighty chapters dealing with the philosophical pre-suppositions, with objections both philosophical and theological, and with the relation of this argument to the other evidences. Professor Stearns obviously owes much to Frank and Dorner ; yet his book is thoroughly

his own. He has thought the subject out from end to end ; and he writes with conviction and enthusiasm. He has an unusually sound equipment of knowledge. But the charm of the book lies in the union which it displays of warm evangelical sentiment with thoroughly scientific workmanship. It is a gift as rare as it is excellent to be able thus to allow the heart to speak and yet to maintain the vigilance and dignity of a philosophic thinker.

The author holds what would probably be widely conceded, that the evidence of experience has always been the ultimate ground of belief in Christianity on the part of the great majority of true believers. But it has obtained a very inconspicuous place in systems of Apologetics. This he proposes to remedy. "I do not think it would be too much to say that the recognition of this form of evidence is the essential and striking feature of the evidence of to-day." "It is time we should stop giving the opponent of Christianity who calls upon us for a proof of our belief every reason but the right one."

The apologetic books of last century, though directed against Deism, were unconsciously tinged with the deistical spirit. They were shy of close contact with spiritual religion. Indeed, their very conception of Christianity was one with which it is impossible for us to be satisfied. They thought of it chiefly as a system of revealed truth guaranteed by supernatural signs. Its doctrines were mysteries, which the human mind could not understand, but which it was bound to accept, because the organs of revelation, who were authenticated by prophecies and miracles, had made them known. Thus Christianity was a thing complete and finished when the Canon was closed ; and faith had to look back to it over many intervening centuries.

We no longer conceive of Christianity in this way. It did not so much terminate as commence in the first century. Revelation is the record of the entrance into the world of the forces of salvation, which have become stronger and more diffusive ever since. These forces are not mere words and doctrines : the Divine will and the Divine heart are in them. Christ is not merely a historical figure eighteen hundred years old, or even a living figure existing at an immense and inaccessible distance : He is in the world, and He brings His own message to every soul. Christianity is not a system of beliefs about Him : it is Christ Himself, standing at the door and offering to enter with all the forces of salvation in His train.

Now, the argument from experience is, that, when Christianity in this sense is admitted into the human mind, it carries with it its own proof. When God comes into the soul, the effect is the same as when sunshine comes into a dark place. Light needs no demonstration. When a man has actually been saved by Christ, how

can there be for him any question as to whether there exists a Christ or a salvation ? The moral and spiritual forces of Christianity are not weak or trivial : they are the strongest which human nature can experience ; and the change which they effect, where they arrive, is the most momentous revolution through which a human being can pass between the cradle and the grave. Once begun, this change goes on extending its influence over every department of the inner and outer man ; and at every stage of its progress the evidence for its reality is accumulating.

Professor Stearns is quite aware that the history of religion in many Christians is much less marked than this ; but he appears to consider the experience described to be sufficiently normal. He has not perhaps, however, reflected enough on the difficulty of making the subjective experience of a few an objective evidence for all. It is true that Apologetic may be more necessary than is usually assumed for confirming the faith of believers ; yet its principal aim must be to serve as a sign to them that are without. But he makes the evidence of experience consist almost entirely of the modifications of the believer's own consciousness, of which outsiders can learn nothing except by testimony. He does not do more than touch upon the argument "derived from the outward working of Christianity in the individual." This is surely an unwarrantable narrowing of the field. It might even be well worth considering whether the whole line of argument derived from the practical effects of Christianity in modern times, as this is developed, for example, in *Gesta Christi*, might not be included in the evidence from experience.

Confident, however, as the author is in the force of the argument which he has presented, he is by no means insensible to the claims of other evidences. Perhaps, indeed, the most brilliant thing in the book is the Introductory Lecture, in which he sketches a full-length Apology of Christianity, indicating the precise place which every argument should occupy. Students of Apologetics ought to turn to this passage, for the detailed working out of the scheme would be an immense gain to Christianity. Professor Stearns is still a comparatively young man, this being his first book of importance ; and perhaps he may himself develop the programme which he has drawn out with a masterly hand. At all events, he has given us one of the best books produced in recent years ; and he has already ensured to the future products of his pen a warm welcome on both sides of the Atlantic.

JAMES STALKER.

## Communication on some Unpublished Inscriptions, from the Hauran and Gilead.

THE following inscriptions were copied by me on a journey made this summer from Damascus through the Hauran and Gilead.

The immense harvest of inscriptions which Burekhardt, Waddington, de Vogüé, Wetzstein, Selah Merrill, Schumacher, and others, have swept from the East of the Jordan might be supposed to have exhausted the entire region. But this is not the case. In the Hauran there are still many villages unvisited by the archaeologist, while even in those searched by the travellers named, the annual building and repair of houses, the crumbling of ruins, and the ploughing of fields, are constantly bringing to the surface other "written stones." They are all of the basalt of the district, the hardness of which is the reason of the extraordinary wealth of the Hauran in inscriptions. When you cross the Yarmuk to the limestone of Gilead, inscriptions are much less frequent on the surface, but even there, under sites like Gadara, Pella, and Jerash, rich spoil awaits the excavator.

I copied in all between thirty and forty inscriptions, but I found the larger number either in Waddington's great list, vol. iii. of *Le Bas and Waddington's Voyage Archéologique en Grece et en Asie Mineure*; or in Selah Merrill's list, published and explained in the *American Journal of Philology*, vols. iii. and iv.; or in Schumacher's *Across the Jordan and Jaulán*, published by the Palestine Exploration Society. Of the following *fourteen* inscriptions, *eleven*, as far as I know, have not been published; *one* I am not certain about; and *two* others are given by Schumacher, but with different readings from my copies. I give the fourteen in the order I found them.

We left Damascus on the 17th June, and following the great Hajj road, our first station was Ghabâghîb, where the one inscription Waddington gives from this district has evidently disappeared. Next morning we continued along the pilgrim road to Es SANAMEIN (Doughty wrongly Salâmen, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 5), "the Two Idols." In the little temple there, besides the four inscriptions given by Waddington (2413 f.-i.), I found a fragment, overlooked by his authorities, which I reproduce in ordinary Greek type.

It is evidently a dedicatory inscription concluding with the usual formula *Εὐσεβείας χάριν*. I also found on another building the inscription, already published, dedicating "To Zeus the Lord, a Portal with the little Victory-images and the Great Victory." It may have been after this idol and another of *Τύχη*, which appears to have stood here, that the village was called by its present name.

POIIO  
TOKOINO  
ΑΓΝΩCEII  
BAMTA  
XAPIN  
Fig. 1.

As we were resting in the public guest-house, the Sheikh of the village told us there was a "maktoob" in his yard, to which we went, and found a half-buried stone, forming one end of a low manger, with Greek letters upon it. I had it dug up and washed, when the very interesting inscription, Fig. 2, became visible. It reads easily :



Fig. 2.

ἔτους λζ' τοῦ καὶ λβ' βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα κ(υρί)ου . . . αββο Γαίος Φιλω[καὶ οἱ] υἱοὶ οἰκοδομῆσαν [τὴν θύ]ραν σὺν νεικαδίοις κα[ὶ λεοντ]αρίοις καὶ τὰ θυρώματα ἔστησαν Δι' κυρίῳ ἐκ τῶν [ι]δίῳ ἐυσεβείας χάριν.

Note the one square E in the second last line—all the others being curved; it very often happens in these inscriptions that one instance of a letter will be different from all the other instances in the same inscription: cf. below the one curved σ in fig. 1, and the peculiar υ in fig. 10. The letters . . . αββο are the only obscurity; they may be part of a proper name (there is a Γαββα in 2591 of Waddington); or the ββ may be that still unexplained addition to so many proper names in the Hauran; cf. Wadd. 2061, 2293, Νεικάδια and λεοντάρια, not found in classic Greek, are of course "little victory-images" and "little lions." Θυρώματα are either "panels" or "folding doors." The "King Agrippa" must be the younger Agrippa, before whom Paul appeared, his father reigning only seven years. Do both the dates given in the inscription refer to him? The first can scarcely refer to the founder of the temple; and the second only to the king. But the mention of a double date is puzzling, till we remember that the reign of Agrippa II. had really two beginnings, the difference between which is the same as the difference between the two dates on the inscription. The elder Agrippa died in 44 A.D., but the son was thought too young at the time to succeed him, and it was not till 49 that the son was invested with the father's tetrarchy of Batanea, Trachonitis, Ituraea, &c. The difference between 44 and 49 is just the difference between the dates on the inscription, 37 and 32—which, being reckoned the former from 44, the latter from 49, would mark the same year, 81 A.D. Translate, therefore, "In the 37th year, which was also the 32nd year, of King Agrippa," &c. There are many inscriptions given by Waddington from the reigns of both Agrippas, earlier than which we find no inscriptions in the Hauran, but I do not remember to have seen a second instance of this double date.

At INCHIL, a village beyond Es-Sanamein, I found nothing but these three broken lines, which I give in ordinary type, as I have an idea that they have been published before. They are from the lintel of the door of the mosque.

ΣΚΑΘΑΡΟΤΗΤΟΣ  
ΛΑΝΤΙΕΡΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ  
ΗΡΟΣΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗΣΗ

Fig. 3.

Our next station was at SHEIKH MESKÎN (Doughty wrongly Meskîn), a large village, some four hours and a-half from Es-Sanamein, and also on the great Hajj road. Waddington (2413) believes that it marks the site of a great town under the Empire. But the ruins are not nearly so large as those two hours to the south at Taffas. I rode across from here to El-Merkez, "the centre," the seat of the government of the Hauran, sufficiently described by Schumacher (*Across the Jordan*, 195). I visited, like him, with the permission of the man in authority, the Makâm Ayyûb or Holy Place of Job, and was shewn the tombs of the patriarch and his wife. The building is evidently Christian, but the long inscription found by Wetzstein—the last Greek and Christian inscription in the Hauran, dated 641, when the Christians after the overthrow of the Byzantine power in Syria, had no king to record save, as the inscription pathetically mentions, Jesus Christ—has disappeared. Part of the purpose of my visit to El-Merkez was to secure permission and escort for a visit to the Lejjah and the Druse Mountain. It was a great disappointment that the man in authority refused me both, so that a large part of our projected tour was broken off. With much difficulty he gave us licence to visit Bosra, but even this was afterwards withdrawn. The reason he offered was a little war, then in course, as he alleged, between the Druses and the Bedouin. We had grounds to doubt the truth of this. On the road between El-Merkez and Sheikh Meskîn there are two noble fountains, and by the more easterly a large mill at the foot of a strongly fortified mound, in the centre of the ruins of which stands the white, conspicuous wêli of "Sheikh Unhappy" (meskîn) himself. Nearer to the village there is a cairn, 10 feet long by 5 broad by 2 high, and at the end of it there has been stuck into the ground a basalt slab with the inscription, fig. 4. The shepherds round affirmed it to be the tomb of Sheikh Muhammad el 'Ajamy<sup>1</sup>—Muhammad the Foreigner. Let lie underneath who may, the stone is the simplest of Greek epitaphs: "Authos (son)



Fig. 4.

<sup>1</sup> There is a Sheikh el 'Ajamy, a saint much respected in the W. Hauran, where his tomb is shewn at El 'Ajamy on the upper Yarmuk.—Schumacher, *Across Jordan*, 118.

of Priscus ? years." *Λῆθος* as a name occurs in Wadd. 1986. For *Πρείσκος*, see Wadd. 2077. I take the last letter in the third line

ΑΣΙΑΜΟΣ Θ ΥΤΩΝ  
ΔΙΩΝΚΑΜΑΤΩΝΚΑΙ  
ΤΩΝΑΥΤΟΥΤΕΚΝΩΝ  
ΤΜΝΗΑΙΟΝΕΠΟΙΗΣ  
ΚΑΙΛΕΓΙΧΑΙΡΕΤΙ:Ρ

to be an *υ*, though it is different from the *υ* of the first line; such differences, as I have said, being common within the same inscription (cf. fig. 2).

Fig. 5.

My next two inscriptions are from the wall of the mosque at Sheikh Meskin. The first (fig 5) is, of course, "Asiamos, (son) of ??

at his own pains and his children's made the monument, and saith, Farewell, oh?" The spelling, as in so many of the Hauran inscriptions, is defective, *μ* being omitted from *μνημαῖον* and *ι* out of *λέγει*. *Ἀσίαμος* is not given in Pape's "Lexicon of Proper Names," and does not, I think, occur elsewhere in the Hauran inscriptions. It is probably a Semitic name, turned into a Greek form. The second inscription, fig. 6, is broken too short at both ends to be made much of. It appears to have been a moralising epitaph.

ΤΑΩ(ΤΕΡΕΙΗΜΗΝ Α  
Ω(ΤΕΡΕΜΕCΙΟΤΙΟC  
ΤΑΥΚΑΙΤΑΧΡΗΣΑΤΑ  
ΡΙΚΟCΟΥΤΟCΕCΤΙΝ

Fig. 6.

The next village on the *Derb-el-Hajj* is *TUFFAS* or *Taffas*, two hours south of Sheikh Meskin. It was explored by Schumacher. I agree with him\* that a great city must have occupied this site. The ruins are extensive. There were probably two Christian churches or a church and a monastery, where the mosque and the sheikh's house now stand. I found three inscriptions. The first,

ΟΛΟΥΘΩCΥΠ  
ΠΠΟΥΑΥΤΩΥΚ  
ΤΡΟΛΕΟ

Fig. 7.

fig. 7, was on a stone in the wall of a private house. It is too fragmentary to be significant. Professor Ramsay suggests the restoration of the first line to *ακ]ολούθως ὑπ[οσχέσει?:* and in preference to a suggestion that the second line may have read *φιλ]ιππου αὐτοκράτορος* for *αὐτοκράτορος*, he would rather look for some way of filling up with *αὐτῶν*.

The second inscription from *Tuffas* (fig. 8), with its rare square lettering, is of very great interest, as being the only known inscription of the Emperor Otho. I found it on a stone forming the lintel of a doorway to a courtyard, and turned upside down. The

\* "Across the Jordan," p. 210.



stone was broken at both ends. The fourth line I restore as under.

L Θ ΔΡΥΠΕΡΤΗ[ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΙ  
 ΣΤΟΥ ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΘΩΝΟΣ ΕΩΤΗ  
 ΛΟΦ ΙΗ[ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΠΑΤΗΡ Π  
 ΕΤΟ ΝΕΥΝ ΑΙΔΥΣΙ ΨΑΛΙΣΙ ΟΙΚ  
 ΓΚ ΕΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ Τ

Fig. 8.

I have to thank Professor Ramsay for the restoration of the other lines.

ἔτους λ' ρ(?) ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοκράτ[ορος καίσαρος σεβα-  
 στοῦ Μάρκου Ὁθωνος σωτηρ[ίας καὶ διαμονῆς  
 Λοφ . . . τῆς Διογένους πατὴρ π[όλεως  
 στο[ιὰ]ν ταις δυσὶ ψαλίσι οἰκ[οδόμησε  
 ἐκ[?] θεμελίων εὐσεβ]είας χάριν.

Professor Ramsay says :—"The restoration at one end is uncertain till we fix the amount of the gap. Perhaps καίσαρος should be omitted, but it formed part of his titles (*vide* coins), and the presumption is that it was used here also. Coins have IMPMOTHO-CAESAVG. Then the formula in line 2 fills up the gap; in beginning of 3 a proper name is needed, but I cannot think of anything, Λοφ . . . ης. πατὴρ π[όλεως] would suit; the Patres civ. are known in south-eastern Asia Minor."

The Emperor Otho reigned only three months, January to April, 69 A.D. Prof. Ramsay says that "there is no other known inscription of Otho; all must have been destroyed by Vitellius and Vespasian, the latter in vindication of the memory of Galba." It is, then, very curious that the only extant inscription of Otho should have been found within a day's march of Vespasian's camps, on the east of the Lake of Galilee. On the death of Nero, Agrippa II., and Titus, the latter sent by Vespasian, set out from Syria to Rome to salute Galba. By the way they heard of Galba's death.\* Agrippa went on alone to salute Otho, but Titus returned to his father with the news of Otho's succession; and it must have been while Vespasian's forces were at Gadara, or near Gamala, a few hours' ride from Tufas, that this inscription was put up. But, as Dr Moir of Aberdeen has pointed out to me, the legions of Vespasian did take the oath to Otho.

\* Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iv. 9; Tacitus, *Hist.*, ii. 1.

The third inscription at Tuffas, fig. 9 (found above a house door in a yard some feet below the level of the village lanes), is given by Schumacher (*Across the Jordan*, p. 21), but I read the first line a little differently, and my copy does not show the *αυτης* he reads, probably correctly, in the last. It is an inscription from the dwelling of some Christian, and easily reads :

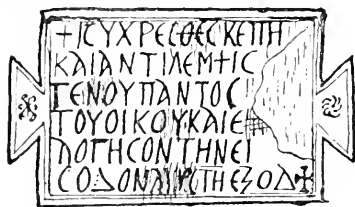


Fig. 9.

*Ι(η)σ(δ)υ χρι(στ)ε (ι)σθε σκέπη  
καὶ ἀντίλεμψις γένου πάντος  
τοῦ οἴκου καὶ ἐ(ν)λογῇσον τὴν  
εἰσοδὸν αὐτ(ῆ)ς (καὶ τὴν) ἐξοδόν.*  
*Ιου* for *Ιησου*, and *χρε* for

*χριστε*, are common in Christian inscriptions. Wadd., 2666; Clermont Ganneau, *Recueil d' Archéologie Orientale*, p. 5. The next word I read *σθε*, Schumacher *οος*; but I have no doubt, having traced the letters with eye and finger, that my reading is correct. With *σκέπη* cf. *ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ θεοῦ*: Wadd., 2672. *Ἀντίλεμψις* is, of course, *ἀντίληψις*; *ἀντιλήπτωρ* is used in the LXX. of God, the Protector, 2 Sam. xxii. 3, Ps. iii. 4. *Ἐλόγησον* is a frequent spelling of *εὐλόγησον*; in the Hauran inscriptions the omission of vowels is common, and where two vowels come together one is almost invariably left out—another trace of the Semitic scribe.

From Taffas we crossed by Muzeirib—the great Hajj station, where the ruins are all of Arab buildings, and I found no inscriptions—to DERA 'AT, the more probable site of Edrei, Og's capital, just across the border of the Hauran, and on limestone. We were unfortunately unable to gain access to the underground city here, so fully described by Schumacher. I was not aware that there was more than one entrance to it, and that to which we were led is jammed up fifty yards from the mouth by the fall of the roof—said to have been designed by the governor for the purpose of preventing fugitives from conscription hiding in the labyrinth beyond. We saw the two inscriptions on the mosque given by Schumacher, and before him by Wetzstein: *εὐτυχῶς τῇ πόλει* for *πόλει* (another instance of the omission of a member of a diphthong), and *εἰσέλθ' ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ*, the latter a phrase as old as Homer, and both occurring frequently in heathen temples and Christian churches in Egypt. (Wadd., 2070f.). In the courtyard of the mosque there lie neglected a stone chair and a large font, which, in answer to my questions, the Moslems described as "only stones." But I found a new inscription in the Moslem graveyard on the plateau to the east of the town, which is also thickly studded with ancient Syrian epitaphs. At the end of a grave a stone was stuck half-way into

the earth. I dug it out, and found what appears in fig. 10. It is an easy inscription: Γάιος Λούκιος βάσσιος βουλευτής ἐπο(ί)ησεν ἐκ τῶν ιδίων τὸ μνημα ἔτ(ους) δ' καيسάρων Μάρκου καὶ Λουκίου.

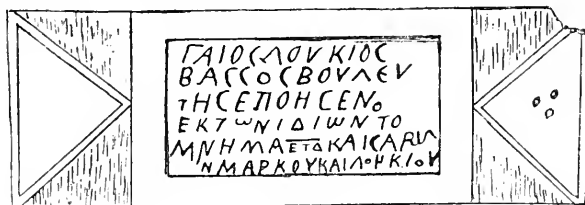


Fig. 10.

These emperors, with the same year, can only be Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and his colleague Lucius Aurelius Verus, who began to reign in 161 A.D. The date of the inscription is therefore 165. Bassus was then a frequent name in the Hauran. Βουλευτής was the councillor in a Roman colonia, or free city of that time. In ἐποήσεν we see again the simplification of the diphthong. Notice in the last line an υ of different shape from the others in the inscription.

At Edrei we got a message from the governor, forbidding us to go further east, even to Bosra. Our escort was bound to obey him, and I could not afford to take so many mules as were in our caravan on my own responsibility. We therefore reluctantly turned west from Edrei and camped at IRBID, the seat of a Kaimakam or lieutenant-governor. Here we saw nothing, but the dolmens and the inscription on an old tomb, given first by Merrill as Μετά πάντα τ(ούτο), and by Clermont Ganneau μετά πάντα τ(άφος). I think the latter the correct reading. My copy shows Α as the second letter of the third word: the rest is defaced. At Beit-Ras, which we took on our way from Edrei to Irbid, we saw a very beautifully carved sarcophagus in white limestone, the bottom lined with mosaics, which had just been dug up. From Irbid we marched west to GADARA, which although it lies south of the Jarmuk and on limestone, had most of its buildings in basalt. The tombs are all limestone caves, but have basalt doors, doorposts, lintels, and sarcophagi. I saw the inscription above a tomb which Clermont Ganneau gives (cf. *Receuil* p. 21), Γάιου Ἀννίου Γα(ίου?) Ἀν(ίου?) υἱο(ῦ)?: it runs not so but as follows, though in capitals, γαιουαννιου-γαυνιφ. I also saw the pathetic epitaph, of which he gives a correct copy, but which he fails to transcribe, Τίτε Μάλχου Χαίρε Ετελεύτα? ἄω[ρ]ος ἔτων ιβ'. Χαί[ρε]. On my copy the ρ of ἄωρος is quite distinct. I copied it twice by evening and morning light. Ετελευτας is of course for ἐτελεύτησας. The in-

scription was first given by Dr Merrill and is explained in the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. vi. pp. 190 ff. Many of Dr Merrill's discoveries have been unfairly overlooked by subsequent explorers.

But I found also a new inscription (Fig. 11) in Gadara. It had just been dug up by some peasants: I copied it by evening light, and when I returned to correct my copy by morning light I found that they had utterly defaced the letters. The bust at the top had been previously defaced. It is the tombstone of a legionary, and reads easily enough.

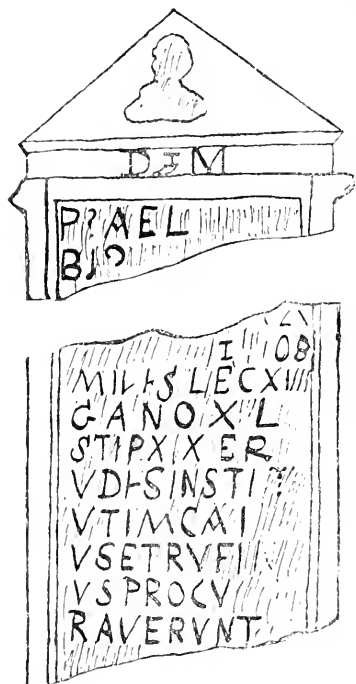


Fig. 11.

D(eis) M(anibus).

P(ublius) Æ(lins) B . . . .  
 . . . . . I O B. Miles  
 Leg(ionis) xiii. (? or xvii.) G(e-  
 mina) An(n)o(rum) xl. stip(endi-  
 orum) xix. Erudes institut(i)  
 M(arcus) Cat(ti)us et Rufi(n)us  
 procuraverunt.

The spelling Erudes for Eredes may be due to a slip of the stone-cutter, who put the single horizontal line, which the E is sometimes allowed on this inscription, a little too low.

The number of the Legion is doubtful. It is more probably xiii. than xvii., though the first two strokes after the x were very near each other. I have not been

able to find out whether Legio XIV., which was called Gemina, was ever in Syria. Professor Ramsay writes: "Leg. XIV. Gem. was in Upper Germany under Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula; was sent to Britain in 43, stationed at Camalodunum, and afterwards sent to Dalmatia shortly before 69; fought for Otho that year in Italy, and then was ordered back to Britain, but was diverted to Germany, where it remained from 70. I can find no allusion to its being anywhere but in Germany and Pannonia after this."

From Gadara I visited Fik (ancient Aphek of IKi, xx. 26) with Rev. Mr Ewing of Tiberias, in the hope of finding a number of old Hebrew inscriptions, reported to be there chiefly on the ovens of the houses. We found nothing except what Schumacher has already

given (*The Jaulán* 136-146), but we made a better copy (Fig. 12) of the Hebrew inscription with the seven-branched candlestick above it on the small basalt column. A squeeze we took was unfortunately destroyed. I heard of a

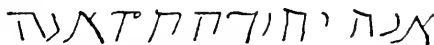


Fig. 12.

fine inscription on the interior wall of a house, covered with plaster: I paid the woman to scrape the plaster off and found only the Cufic inscription Schumacher already gives (*ib.* p. 140). Fik was thus a disappointment, but I believe a great deal lies there and in the neighbourhood, for the first properly organised archaeological expedition, with a firman to excavate.

From Gadara, southward, we were in a limestone country, and the inscriptions almost absolutely ceased. We passed down the Jordan valley to Tabakât Fahl, "the terraces of Fahl," a name in which PELLA has been recognised and admitted by most geographers.<sup>1</sup> It was founded by Alexander the Great's veterans; it was a city of the Decapolis; it was the refuge of the Christians before the siege of Jerusalem by Titus; it became a great Christian centre; and by it was fought the Battle of Fahl, in the year 13 A.H., in which the Greeks were overthrown by the Arabs. It seems to have been deserted soon after. There are no Saracen ruins among the wilderness of Greek, Pagan, and Christian remains. We spent two days on this remarkable site, but I have no space to detail here all that we saw. I was much disappointed about inscriptions, of which I expected to find many. But after an arduous search among the thickly overgrown ruins, all that discovered itself was a sarcophagus lid, marked with three circles, and beneath one of them, at the right-low corner, the letters, ΘΩΜΑΣ. The last visitor to Fahl, Mr Guy Le Strange,<sup>2</sup> says he failed to discover the warm spring mentioned by the early geographers. We found it after some trouble. It lies a mile to the north.

The heat becoming insupportable at Fahl, 104° in the shade and no wind, we left the place sooner than we wished, for the heights to the east, and had no time to look for the Roman road, which Dr Merrill describes as running between Pella and Gerasa. But at KEFR ABIL, two hours above Pella, we discovered in a mosque a large limestone pillar, used to support one of the arches, which, from the inscription on it, fig. 13, seems to have been a Roman milestone. This is in favour of Dr Merrill's argument about the road. The inscription is very much defaced, but enough of the letters are left to show it to have been the usual list of the ancestors of the reigning emperor,

<sup>1</sup> See the mass of evidence brought forward by Dr Selah Merrill. "East of the Jordan," Pp. 442-447.

<sup>2</sup> "A Ride through Ajlun and the Belka," 1884.

in this case of two reigning emperors (*nepotes*, plural), who were probably, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Verus.

MP

III VS  
VS AV G  
I A  
I II ET

I VERUS

TR COS TB  
I II LI

POTES

PARTHICI

IVI

NEPOTES

Fig. 13.

The difficulty is not what to put into the gaps,—they evidently contained the various imperial titles,—but what to keep out. One does not know how far the lines ran round the column, or how contracted the titles were. Probably the inscription ran somewhat after this fashion,—

Imp[(erator) Cæs(ar) M(arcus) Aure]lius  
[Antonin]us Aug(ustus) [Parthicus Maximus?]  
Trib(unicia) pot(estate)? ? Co(n)s(ul) II Et  
[Imp(erator) Cæs(ar) L(ucius) Aure]l(ius)  
Verus [Aug(ustus) Trib(unicia) Pot(estate)]  
II. (?) Co(n)s(ul) II, [divi Antonin]i Filii,  
[Divi Hadriani Ne]potes, [Divi Trajani] Par-  
thici [Pronepotes, D]ivi [Nervæ Ab]nepotes.

The first letter on the second line of the copy cannot be correct. It must be something else than the Greek II.

This was the last of our inscriptions. At Gerash we copied many, but they have been already published, by Waddington or Merrill (*American Journal of Philology*) or in the Palestine Exploration Society's Quarterly, for 1882 and 1883.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

### A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Second Series.

*Eusebius: Church History. Translated with Prolegomena and Notes. By A. C. McGiffert, Ph.D., Professor of Church History in Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati.*

*Life of Constantine, &c. Revised translation with Prolegomena and Notes. By E. C. Richardson, Ph.D., Associate Professor in Hartford Theological Seminary. Oxford: Parker & Co. New York: The Christian Literature Co. Royal 8vo. Pp. viii., 632. 1890. Subscription price, 10s. 6d.*

*Socrates Scholasticus: Ecclesiastical History. Revised Translation and Notes by A. C. Zenos, D.D., Professor in Hartford Theological Seminary, Connecticut.*

*Sozomen: Ecclesiastical History. Revised Translation and Notes by C. D. Hartranft, Hartford Theological Seminary. Pp. xxiv. 464. 1891. Vol. II. in the above Series.*

THE works of Eusebius above indicated, form together Vol. I. of the New Series of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Library, appearing under the editorial supervision of Drs Wace and Schaff.

Dr M'Giffert, the editor of the History, already well-known in America as a rising scholar, and not least for some acute text-criticism of the *Didachê*, is an old pupil of Harnack, whose methods and work may be regarded as assimilated in the notes. And it may be said at once that it is in the notes, which form an excellent commentary, not only on the text, but also on the problems, literary and historical, of the period itself, that the chief value of the edition will lie. For though the translation aims at being a new one and not simply a revision of Crusè, yet we cannot feel that this is the strong point. But while it will not satisfy those whose passion is "sensitive scholarship," it makes, in connexion with the notes on textual *cruces*, a thoroughly trustworthy basis for historical study. It may here be added that, anxious to avoid the unworthy device of "discreet silence," which editors often adopt, and anxious also to give adequate help to beginners, Dr M'Giffert has been content to err, if error it be, on the side of fulness. His ample knowledge of recent German work on the period, appears in numerous references to monographs and periodicals; for which even mature students will be grateful.

The Prolegomena are a sound and most convenient piece of work, covering fifty-six pages, and dealing with the Life, the Writings, and the Church History of Eusebius. There is an important and original discussion on the attitude of Eusebius to Arianism. The diverse views which prevailed among the ancients on this subject are appended at length. The conclusion reached is that "Eusebius was not an Arian (nor an adherent of Lucian) before 318; that soon after that date he became an Arian *in the sense in which he understood* Arianism; but that during the Council of Nicæa he ceased to be one in any sense." The account of the other writings of Eusebius, arranged under eight heads, exclusive of those "spurious or doubtful," is most careful; while the usual questions as to the History are fully treated, and a helpful account of Editions and Versions, as well as of the Literature, completes the whole.

Where the work dealt with covers some 600 pages, printed in double columns, with notes in smaller type to each page, it is impossible to do more than notice marked features of excellence or originality, the rest being taken for granted.

In Book I., which bears on the Incarnation, ch. vii.—giving Africanus's solution of the Genealogies—is admirably annotated in the light of Spitta's attempted reconstruction of Africanus. Our author's integrity, though not his inerrancy, is in this Book (*e.g.*, *in re* Abgar), as elsewhere, fairly vindicated; while the notes on the supposed reference in Josephus to Christ, and on James "the brother of the Lord," are models of compact and judicial comment. The same may be said of Book II., on the Apostolic age prior to 70

A.D., for which also good use is made of Schürer. But nothing is more important than our editor's emphatic statement of "the external and artificial conception of heresy which Eusebius held in common with his age." This he brings out and corrects in his notes on Simon Magus (ch. 13), as also throughout the work, wherever Gnosticism is referred to (*cf.* iii. 7 and *passim*).

With Book III. we enter upon the period of "Apostolic men" of the second generation, where editorial notes are most necessary. Nor are we disappointed. Be it the legendary zone of "Apostolic Missions" (ch. 1), the delicate topic of Pseudapostolic literature (*e.g.*, ch. 3), the Jerusalem Succession and the Desposyni (11-12, &c.), the Apostolic Fathers (*passim*, *e.g.*, on iii. 36, an able summary of the Ignatian question with a plea for an open mind as to Harnack's *dute*), the two types of Ebionites (27, = Origen's view), Papias as disciple of John the Presbyter (39): all are here. Books IV-V. —worked through in Harnack's *Seminar* at Marburg—bring us to the very heart of the Ante-Nicene period, the second century proper, the age of Apologists and of the formation in thought and practice of much that henceforth lays claim to that most vague title—"Catholicity." The examination of "spurious" official documents is good throughout. But if in the rescript of Hadrian to Fundanus, one sentence only is "really suspicious," may this not be a mere gloss added later? As to the use of *καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία* in the Epistle of the Smyrneans (iv. 15), we agree with our editor (*pace* Lightfoot), that any other than the late sense of "Catholic" would mean tautology in two places (*e.g.*, "the holy universal Church in every place," § 3), and also that such a use is not fatal to the genuineness of the document. Lightfoot's defence, however, of his view as to *διαδοχὴν ἐποιστάμην* ("I composed a catalogue of bishops," iv. 22), seems hard to resist (see his Clement I., 154, 328 n., 1890). Again, the rendering "and from the Syriac Gospel according to the Hebrews, he quotes some passages in the Hebrew tongue," hardly satisfies *ἐκ τε τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίων εὐαγγελίου [καὶ] τοῦ Συριακοῦ καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊδος διαλέκτου τινα τίθησιν*. For the *καὶ ἰδίως* surely points to Hebrew information beyond the gospel in question. As samples of the full and learned notes, which abound in Book IV., we may refer to those on Melito (26), Tatian (29), and Bardesanes (30), as well as to the able defence of Eusebius against the charge of deceit in using Tatian in proof that Crescens caused Justin's death (16).

In Book V., one may note that Dr M'Giffert approves Salmon's view that the letter from Gaul to Eleutherus, as being "pious and most orthodox" in Eusebius' eyes (4), was unfavourable to Montanism; that he does full justice to Marcion and his school (13), as also to Montanism (16); retains in ch. 17 "Alcibiades," read by



all MSS. and versions, and suggests that Eusebius has misread his authority's reference to Miltiades, "perhaps the Montanist Miltiades" of ch. 16, whose name Salmon thinks may have been displaced in ch. 3 by the adjoining Alcibiades—both plausible conjectures; and finally, after illuminating the intricacies of the Paschal Controversy (23f.), sets the Monarchians and their methods in a true light.

A word must be said on the more original elements in the work. Such are the theory of the Christian Ministry outlined in notes on the Diaconate (ii. 1) and Episcopate (iii. 23)—with which, in its blending of the varied factors elicited by recent research, the present writer confesses large agreement, though ready to lay more stress on age as a factor: the view that *φέρεσθαι*, of a writing, means "to be extant," cf. *fertur* in the Muratorian Canon (Suppl. Notes, p. 388 f.); the distinction between *ἀντιλεγόμενα* and *νόθα*, as used in iii. 25, viz., as works, whose "record" hitherto was a mingled one, but which in Eusebius' day were *tending* on the one hand towards, and on the other away from, general acceptance. In *Suppl. Notes*, p. 390, he explains his author's confusion between the successors of Antoninus Pius, by supposing that Eusebius, puzzled as to M. Aurelius' good name in the Church, assumed a confusion of names, and regarded the noble Marcus as the younger, and therefore not responsible for the martyrdoms.

None will doubt that Eusebius needs an editor badly. And we make bold to say that he has at last found one in English, with sufficient largeness of view to be sympathetic and yet thoroughly critical, free from pet theories to warp his judgment, learned and sober—in a word, an editor worthy of an author at once so misleading and so invaluable.

Naturally, Dr Richardson's work calls for less notice. The translation simply aims at being a careful revision (founded on Heinichen instead of Valesius) of the Bagster edition of the "Life of Constantine," Constantine's "Oration to the Saints," and the "Oration in Praise of Constantine." The notes, too, are based on Bagster. But in the general Prolegomena, dealing with Constantine's Life, Character, Writings, and the "Mythical Constantine," the editor had a freer hand, and has done his work *con amore*. Indeed, there is an enthusiastic tone about the work, as of one generously vindicating a misjudged man, which might tempt some to do scant justice to the editor himself, as being a mere advocate. But therein they would do wrong. For as to the thorough study of sources, both primary and secondary, on which his estimate rests, there can be no doubt. Witness not only the exhaustive bibliography everywhere supplied; but also the way in which authorities are cited in his text,

attempt being made to assign specific character to each. He certainly makes out a good case, supported by modern analogies, for the theory of his hero's character, which he builds up gradually on the wide basis of general heathen testimony, if in the main with Christian materials. "The editor's judgment is that Constantine, for his time, made an astonishingly temperate, wise, and on the whole, benevolent use of absolute power; and in morality, kindly qualities, and, at last, in real Christian character, greatly surpassed most nineteenth century politicians—standing to modern statesmen as Athanasius to modern theologians" (p. 435). He is aware that this traverses the views of many eminent scholars. But he has traced well the stages of C.'s attitude to Christianity, starting from the basis of his father's pious and monotheistic tendencies. Thus emphasizing the natural effect of what Constantine himself believed to be a token from the God of the Christians, the preference for Christian advisers, and the laws in their behalf, he claims that Constantine's attitude, though of necessity "conditioned by his relation to the old religion," was distinctly more than one of "non-committal." For he justly remarks that in 314 "his position was not yet secure. He had to use his utmost tact to keep all elements in hand. He was conditioned just as is a modern Christian emperor or president," by the limitations to personal freedom in religious matters, which pertain to the official head of a great political unity containing divergent religious interests. Nor can he see any proof that C.'s religious sympathies were primarily a matter of astute statecraft. Similarly our editor justly urges that, as we must judge the part through the whole, not *vice versa*, a defendant of so well attested a character has a right to the benefit of the doubt as to the confessedly "unknown causes," which must lie behind so exceptional a series of events, as were the deaths of Crispus, the younger Licinius, and Fausta. As to the historical value of the "Life" by Eusebius, there is much point in the remark that "his aim is distinctly limited to Constantine's religious acts." So that, apart from the "very pietistic flavour" given to his hero, Eusebius cannot be shown, except by a *petitio principii*, to have suppressed really pertinent facts; while he constantly cites documents for what he positively sets forth.

On one head, however, we feel bound to utter a mild protest. In so large a work as that before us, we cannot be surprised at typographical errors, though we hope they will be remedied some day. But in a work written for the English-speaking people at large, we regret the defects of style in Dr Richardson's part of the volume. Not only does it lack dignity and self-restraint at times (as in allusions to "small boys," the comic papers, "Kentucky moonshiners," and the slang of party politics; but it abounds in dubious English

like "supposably," "character generalization," "his actual objective," "his learning . . . was radiated with reference to expression,"—not to mention "rubrics" and "psychical," where "heads" and "mental" would be simpler. Such are not mentioned in a captious spirit, but with the hope that the other American editors may consciously aim at "catholicity" in their English. For, as both our editors prove, American scholarship has much to teach us, not only in Bibliography but also in fresh devotion to research.

Socrates and Sozomen have in recent times been in even worse case than Eusebius, who has at least had his Heinichen in German. This has been due in part to the excellence of Valesius in the second half of the seventeenth century, and of Reading in the beginning of the eighteenth. But these are beyond the ordinary student; and the result has been a mere second-hand knowledge of the fourth century, which has often been worse than no knowledge at all. An edition like the present is therefore most welcome, even though the centre of gravity in matters really vital has passed, and justly passed, from the fourth to the earlier centuries. What here was most wanted was not so much a critical edition like M'Giffert's Eusebius, as a straightforward, serviceable version of the Greek historians themselves, enabling the student to live and breathe in the atmosphere of the fourth century as it was, in all its mingled and strangely human elements. And such we now possess in the present volume. This does not mean that the translation is a perfect one. The text, as we are reminded, itself stands in need of a critical editor. Besides, the Bagster version, which is taken as basis, is far from hitting the happy mean, and is, moreover, often deficient in scholarship. Nor can we say that these defects have always been adequately remedied by our editors. But what they aim at in the main, that they have achieved. And that is, to put the reader—by means of well-informed and intelligent introductions on the historians and the scope of their histories, as well as upon the Bibliography of their subjects in all its aspects—so into the position from which he can, as it were, look through his author's eyes, that the general course of events may be easily yet truly perceived. The notes, which are well-chosen and generally accurate, are on such a scale as to stimulate rather than supersede personal study, consisting largely of references to contemporary authorities rather than to later critical views. And this, in the circumstances, is wise and wholesome. Here, as elsewhere, "he that hath to him shall be given." Our editors seem minded not to pander to any "seemeth to have" tendency in their readers. But that every needful help to a grip upon the history is given, may be seen from the fact that appended to Sozomen are elaborate Chronological Tables (for

300-440) based on Clinton, and supplemented by lists of the accession of Bishops in Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Rome, in the compilation of which *Gams* and *Jaffé* have been drawn upon.

To specify somewhat, the Introductions, especially that on Sozomen as Author—his tendencies and pre-occupations—are admirable pieces of work, implying minute, and often original research. As to the abrupt ending of his author's work, Hartranft is inclined "to believe that Sozomen died before he had completed the record which he had proposed to himself." This is likely to command assent; as do the notes throughout, as a rule. A few exceptions in the Socrates may, however, be worth noting. Zenos takes "Theophorus" as applied to Ignatius, passively ("carried by God"), referring it to the tradition that he was the very child whom Jesus "took up in His arms" (p. 144 *n.*); whereas Lightfoot takes it actively ("God-bearing"), and makes the tradition the effect, not the cause of the epithet. Then why "on the Wednesday in *Passion Week*, and on *Good Friday*," for τῇ τετράδι καὶ τῇ λεγομένῃ 'παρασκευῇ' (p. 132; see Zahn on Mart. Polyc. vii., and Ps. Ign. ad Philipp. xiii. in *Pat. Apost.* II.)? As to ii. 24 *fin.*, he infers "that the whole of Egypt was not under the Bishop of Alexandria," from the fact that Athanasius was open to blame for ordaining ἐν ταῖς ἄλλων παροικίαις, where the district between Pelusium and Alexandria is in question. But why should it not mean simply that he failed to consult the local bishops (? Arians), who had rights in their own "parishes"? Among other oversights may, perhaps, be noted those in ii. 11., where Socrates' confusion with the case of George in 356 is passed over; ch. xviii., Constantine the younger, for Constans—where, too, "composed" is weak for "patched up" (συγκαττύσαντες); p. 45 (col. 2, top) where ἡ υἱὸς is omitted; ch. xxiii. (*fin.*), take μου with ἀδελφὸν alone; iv. 23, render γνωστικὸς as "enlightened one" throughout (*e.g.*, p. 108, col. 1, *mid.*). These are but trifles; just enough to justify the reader in keeping his eye open, not enough to detract seriously from an editor's real merits.

*Verb. sat sap.*—We wish the series a wide sale and serious study, for the times therein set forth have much to teach us to-day; not least of all, how it is that we have not a little to unlearn, if our faith is to be historic rather than antiquarian.

VERNON BARTLET.

## **The Dawn of the English Reformation : Its Friends and Foes.**

*By Henry Worsley, M.A., Vicar of Ashford, Bowdler.*

*London : Elliot Stock. 8vo, pp. xx. 380. Price 10s. 6d.*

THE author of this work aims at a biographical treatment of the subject. The story of the great religious struggle of the sixteenth century is told by interweaving a series of biographies of the principal actors and writers connected with it, "not neglecting to portray its virulent and able opponents as well as the zealous champions of the movement" (p. viii.). The result is a volume of rich and varied interest, in which a luminous account is given of the principles at stake, while the sympathies of the reader are called forth by the engaging personalities that pass before him and the abundant detail that gives life and colour to an historical picture. The author makes no secret of his ardent attachment to Protestant principles, but this does not blind him to the merits of opponents. One striking feature of the book is its discriminating estimates of all the actors in the struggle, its frank admission of the shortcomings of the champions of the new cause, and its generous judgments of those who stood by the old order of things. Mr Worsley is a clergyman of the Church of England, and with a partiality that is perfectly natural, rejoices in the mild form in which the shock of revolution was experienced by his Church at the epoch of which he treats, compared with what took place in the Continental Churches, and views that result as due to the special providence that watched over the destinies of the Church of England at the time! But after all, his deepest sympathies are Protestant rather than Anglican, and recognising the fact that it is "the Protestant heart beating strong in the national breast which has been the true secret of Great Britain's becoming the widest and greatest empire of which history has any cognisance" (p. 303), it is a task of pleasure to him to unfold the story of the events that contributed to the final success of the Protestant cause.

After an introduction, in which he describes the state of the Church at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the author presents us with a series of sketches of those who were concerned in preparing the way for the new era that was shortly to dawn. First come the Oxford scholars, Colet and More and Erasmus, the leaders of the new learning, who had no thought of departing from their position as true sons of the Church of Rome, but who by their piety and scholarship and their eager advocacy of a practical Christianity, did much to introduce the more spiritual movement that followed. Then we have an account of the Cambridge

"Gospellers"—"little Bilney, the earnest Evangelist, and Hugh Latimer, changed by the instrumentality of Bilney from a bigoted Romanist into an earnest champion of the Gospel, and a preacher who made his voice heard alike in the court of the king and in the homes of the people; and other earnest spirits who gathered for prayer and for the study of the new views that were breaking on men's minds. In this connection a place is also given to Wolsey, the great Cardinal and Statesman, who, though averse to reformation on Scriptural principles, was used by providence to further the cause he abhorred, his scheme of university reform attracting to Oxford scholars full of evangelical zeal, and his bold statesmanship accomplishing the deliverance of England from the yoke of Rome. The author does full justice to the character of Wolsey and to those aspects of his life-work that entitle him to the admiration and gratitude of posterity.

The prominent figure in these pages is William Tyndale, and the author lingers lovingly over the details of his life, and follows him in his wanderings from place to place on the Continent in the course of his voluntary exile, while he carried into execution the great work on which his heart at an early stage was set—the translation of the New Testament into English. We have an attractive picture of his controversies with the monks in the manor house of Sir John and Lady Walsh. It was on one of those occasions when engaged in argument with an opponent that he was tempted to exclaim, "I defy the Pope and all his laws, and if God spare my life ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth a plough shall know more of the Scripture than thou knowest," words that led to his falling under suspicion and to his flight to the Continent, where he laboured at the task that was to result in the fulfilment of his own prophecy. By-and-by the work was done: the book for which eager hearts were waiting in England was concealed in bales of flax and despatched across the seas, and copies conveyed by secret agencies over the country. The story is familiar to all, but it stands being retold, and in the author's hands it loses none of its interest. Nearly one half of the entire volume is occupied with the history of the political movement that issued in the separation of England from Rome, and the independence of the English Church. The story is a "labyrinth tangled and intricate almost beyond example," and wearisome to a degree. We wonder that so large a place should be assigned to it in a book on the dawn of the Reformation, till we remember that, in point of fact, the leading feature of the English Reformation is its political character, the transference of supremacy over Church and nation from the Pope of Rome to the King of England. How little religious feeling or conviction had to do with this change on the part of the principal agent in bringing

it about, is very plain from the whole story of the negotiation that preceded it. Our author does not call the attention of his readers to the circumstance, but it is instructive to watch how a revelation that had momentous religious consequences was the work of a monarch who had no other end in view than the aggrandisement of his own power and the gratification of his own lusts.

The concluding portion of the book is devoted to the testimony furnished by the early martyrs. It was not enough that the Bible was translated into homely English, and was in the hands of the people, and that the connection of the Church with the papacy was brought to an end. A third condition of success to a religious movement was necessary, that it should be commended by the courage and self-sacrifice of those who were identified with it. The early Gospellers had rather faltered, and held back from rendering this testimony. But the heroic conduct of Bilney at the stake, and, above all, the martyrdom of John Fryth, the friend and coadjutor of Tyndale, who was burnt at Smithfield for denying the dogma of transubstantiation, placed the seal of success on the movement. "Tyndale and Fryth," he says, "were the real heroes of the movement at the period of its dawn. When many had discredited the cause by wavering timidity, they were the salt that renewed its vital energy. Beyond any of their contemporaries, they were the instruments whereby Scriptural Doctrine took root and flourished in the country of their birth. They wrote and toiled to the noblest ends before the various communions, under the Protestant banner, parted off from one another in England."

The above will give some idea of the scope and contents of this valuable contribution to our literature on the English Reformation. Dealing as it does with a period when the Church and Society were on the threshold of a new era, and forces were beginning to operate of whose ultimate working even they who were under their influence had only the dimmest idea—such a work as this is deeply interesting and suggestive reading to those who live in similar epochs in the world's history, in times big with impending changes affecting the foundations of belief and the very framework of society. Our difficulties are, indeed, our own, but when we see that through the new thoughts and aspirations that visited men's minds in those old times, the Spirit of God was working towards great and beneficent results bearing on the progress of the highest interests of the race, we are taught a lesson of patience, and are encouraged to trust that the future will disclose that the same presence is with us also, controlling and guiding the forces that are at work in our age, and preparing the way for fresh conquests of the truth and Kingdom of Christ.

DAVID SOMERVILLE.

### Manual of the Science of Religion.

By P. D. Chantepie De La Saussaye. Translated from the German by Beatrice S. Colyer-Fergusson (née Max Müller). London: Longmans, Green & Co. Svo, pp. xiii.-672. Price 12s. 6d.

THE notice of Professor De La Saussaye's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, which appeared in the last number of this Review, had been in type for some time before the publication of the translation by Mrs Colyer-Fergusson, which was there anticipated. We have now the pleasure of welcoming the work of the Dutch scholar in its English garb. The pleasure, however, is not altogether unalloyed, for the work as it stands is incomplete, corresponding only with the first volume of the original; and we are informed that it will depend on the success of this volume whether it may be followed by the translation of the second. It is, of course, a question of which the publishers must judge for themselves, but it seems to us that the issue of this volume without any guarantee that it will be followed by the second, is the most likely way so to injure its sale as to make it doubtful whether the second will ever appear at all. As the translator points out in her preface, there are numerous works on special branches of the comparative study of religions, but "no book from which trustworthy information on the whole subject could be gained." But this want is not supplied by a book from which, as it stands, the history of religion among the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Germans, as well as the account of Mohammedanism, is excluded. It is scarcely correct to say that the first volume of the *Lehrbuch* "forms a book by itself," though, as including the Introductory and Phenomenological Sections, it probably contains the most original and important parts of the work. Nor does this justify the omission of all indication upon the title-page that the volume before us is only an instalment. We trust that the publishers will see their way to present English students with the complete book, and if the support given to them is at all in proportion to the value of the book itself, they should have no difficulty in doing so.

In making the translation, Mrs Colyer-Fergusson has had the benefit of the author's revision, as well as the use of his own notes and corrections, so that, as she remarks, the "translation may be read almost in the light of a second edition." The advantage is most observable in the Bibliographical paragraphs, which are in every case brought down to date.

We do not need to repeat here what has been already said as to the general character of De La Saussaye's *Lehrbuch*. With regard to the translation, it is, on the whole, what might be expected from a daughter of Max Müller, especially with her father's advice and



assistance on which to rely. It is not altogether possible to judge of its accuracy, for we are warned that "whenever passages which occur in the original are omitted or altered in my translation, it should be understood that the responsibility rests with the author." We are accordingly left in doubt as to how far the *caveat* extends. But why should the book be entitled "Manual of the *Science* of Religion," instead of "Manual of the *History* of Religion" (*Religionsgeschichte*)? The latter title corresponds more truly with the nature and scope of the *Lehrbuch* as a whole. There is much which the Science of Religion includes upon which the author does not touch. Is the alteration of title part of the plan of treating the first volume as an independent work?

The translation is very readable, though occasional awkwardnesses appear, and these sometimes obscure the sense. On p. 4, line 6, "modes for studying religion" should be "methods of;" p. 15, line 18, "every scientific decision must be put aside" should be "any scientific decision is out of the question;" p. 21, line 12, "advantages" would be better than "goods," and the whole clause is made less intelligible by the word "already" (*bereits*) being entirely unaccounted for; same page, line 5 from foot, the assonance "Aryanic" and "Germanic" seems unnecessary and objectionable,—Max Müller himself uses "Aryan." These examples from the first few pages illustrate perhaps the difficulty of the translator's task, perhaps the imperfection of the execution. Such blemishes do not materially affect a work which has been lovingly performed, and is on the whole satisfactorily accomplished.

On one other point only it seems desirable to say a word. In preparing such a book for the use of English-speaking students, a reference should always be given to English translations of books mentioned or quoted, where these exist. On pp. 2 and 3 Pfeiderer's *Religionsphilosophie*, Pünjer's *Geschichte der Christlichen Religionsphilosophie*, Bunsen's *Gott in der Geschichte*, and Réville's *Prolegomènes de l'histoire des Religions* are all referred to without any indication of their accessibility in an English dress, and though translations of Tiele's *Outlines* are mentioned, that one of these is into English is a matter of inference.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

## Justice : Being Part IV. of the Principles of Ethics.

By Herbert Spencer. London : Williams & Norgate. Svo.  
Pp. 292. Price 8s.

THE Data of Ethics, the first part of the Principles of Ethics, was published in 1879, and was written before the Principles of Sociology was complete. Having finished the latter work, the

author was from weak health unable to carry on his work. We are glad to find that he has been able to complete that part of his *Principles of Ethics* now in our hands. Every one must desire that he may have strength to finish the great work on *Synthetic Philosophy* to which he has devoted his life. Parts II. and III., entitled "*The Inductions of Ethics*" and "*The Ethics of Individual Life*" have yet to be done, and afterwards he intends to go on with Parts V. and VI. on *Negative and Positive Beneficence*, which will complete the *Principles of Ethics*, and crown the whole edifice of the *Synthetic Philosophy*. It will not be out of place to express our sympathy with the distinguished author, and our hope that he will be able to finish his work. It will be an advantage even to those who cannot agree with his philosophy to have the system finished by the same mind in which the vast conception arose and took shape.

We have to remind ourselves of the main purpose of this philosophy. In truth we are never allowed to forget it. In all his works we are constantly reminded of the formula of evolution, and are frequently told that "the deepest truths we can reach are simply statements of the widest uniformities in our experience of the relations of Matter, Motion, and Force," or, all things are to be deduced from the *Persistence of Force*. As we read on we find ourselves in the midst of the primitive Nebula,—matter equally diffused in all directions,—and from that homogeneity we have to make a start. We do not proceed very far when we are in the midst of differences, and the differences grow more and more. The deduction from the *Persistence of Force* is not vigorous or rigorous. For we soon find ourselves in the presence of new factors. "The new Factor, which differentiates chemistry from molecular physics, is the heterogeneity of the molecules with whose redistributions it deals." Thus, with the help of the new Factor, we easily get along with chemistry. A little further on and we come to Biology, and we look for a demonstration of the origin of life, or at least for an interpretation of it in terms of Matter and Motion. But here, too, we get new Factors. In truth, we get new Factors whenever we get to a new science. "But this introduction of additional Factors, which differentiates each more special science from the more general science including it, fails in every case to differentiate it absolutely, because the introduction of the additional factors is gradual" (*Psychology*, 138).

But the additional factors are brought in when and where they are needed. The only explanation of them we get is, to suppose them absent is to suppose force not to persist. Thus, we have life under the guidance of Factors not operative up to the time of its appearance, and a new set of facts, which may be summed up under

the laws of genesis, heredity, and variation. Similarly New Factors appear with the rise of conscious life, and again when conscious moral life appears. No doubt sometimes in Mr Spencer's pages consciousness appears to be reduced to its lowest terms, and the Ego becomes simply a series of states of consciousness. But soon the Ego obtains its revenge. For we learn that "by reality we mean *persistence* in consciousness" (First Principles, p. 160), which implies that the consciousness itself persists. The Ego can also form intuitions, can look before and after, and do many wonderful things. It can form ideals, and can construct "the formula of ideal conduct." It can ascertain the absolutely right, and set forth a scheme of absolute ethics. No doubt Mr Spencer has tried to show us the genesis of intuitions, but when once the intuition is reached, whatever may have been the process of its genesis, by virtue of it we obtain a fresh start, and we have a new standard of reference, a new test of truth. It is again a new factor. By the time that we reach the volume before us, we have on hand quite a respectable variety of intuitions, such as ought to satisfy even Dr M'Cosh. They are indeed not the same intuitions as those set forth by him, nor are they accredited with the same kind of evidence, but it is a great matter to have something of the kind, as they make the work all the easier.

Readers of the work had better read again the "Data of Ethics," or they will be apt to mis-read and misunderstand the work on "Justice." We shall meet many such words, as right, wrong, guilt, freedom, ought, obligation, and we are at first sight inclined to take them in the meaning they have in ordinary language. We must remember, however, that these have, most of them, received Spencerian meanings in the "Data of Ethics." They appear indeed to have their usual meaning, and are used by him in apparent forgetfulness of what he had formerly said, but that surely is pure forgetfulness on his part. He has told us that in proportion as men become moral, they lose the feeling of "ought." By and by when the perfectly evolved man shall live in the perfectly evolved society there will not be any right or wrong in our sense of the words. The former sanctions of morality, being useless, will disappear. There will be no need of sanctions, for sanctions will be superseded. The religious sanction will have vanished with the fear of the supernatural, and the legal sanction also, for there will be no need of government, and both the social and the internal sanction will be non-existent, for the individual is at peace with himself and with society. For he is a perfect man, in a perfectly evolved society. The words, ought, right, duty, will remain as interesting witnesses of a time when the adaptation was not complete.

One need not say that Mr Spencer has missed the meaning both

of moral obligation, and of the necessity for an internal sanction for morality. But it is time that we come to the book on Justice, or "the ethics of social life." Briefly the substance of the book is to deduce all the rights of the people from what he describes as the law of equal freedom, which he thus expresses: "Every man is free to do that which he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man." "The formula has to unite a positive element with a negative element. It must be positive in so far as it asserts for each that, since he must receive and suffer the good and evil results of his actions, he must be allowed to act. And it must be negative in so far as, by asserting this of every one, it implies that each can be allowed to act only under the restraint imposed by the presence of others having like claims to act. Evidently the positive element is that which expresses a pre-requisite to life in general, and the negative element is that which qualifies this pre-requisite in the way required, when instead of one life carried on alone, there are many lives carried on together" (p. 45). According to Mr Spencer, "the law of equal freedom is an ultimate ethical principle, having an authority transcending every other." Derived from it we have the following rights, the right to physical integrity, the right to free motion and locomotion, the right to the use of natural media, the right of property, the right of incorporeal property, the right of gift and bequest, the right of free exchange and free contract, the right of free industry, of free belief and worship, of free speech and publication, the rights of women, and of children, and political rights so-called. Then follow chapters on the nature, the constitution, the duties of the state, and the limits of state-duties.

There are two questions to be asked with regard to the law of equal freedom. (1.) Is it true? (2.) If true what can be done with it when we get it. Is it true? Does it leave room for the consideration of the nature of the individual, and for the nature of the social organism? The first thing which strikes us is, that it receives a complete fulfilment irrespective of both. Clerk Maxwell's molecular theory of gases, is a perfect example of the law of equal freedom. Each molecule of gas is free to collide with every other. The fewer the particles the fewer the collisions, and with their increase the collisions are multiplied, until when the density is very great, the movements of the particle become very much hampered, for it has to move with due regard to the movements of all the other particles within the enclosed space. Sheer individualism, and a loose state of aggregation, satisfy then the conditions set down by the law of equal freedom. But the law of equal freedom does not seem to apply to an organism, in which to take Haeckel's definition, "the various parts unite together for the purpose of producing the phenomena of life." Here the law of equal freedom does not

obtain, for "one set of cells devotes itself to the absorption of food, others form themselves into protecting organs for the little community; some become muscle-cells, others bone-cells, others blood-cells, others nerve-cells," and the law of their action is, that "they all work together for the good of the whole." Society has been described by Mr Spencer as an organism. But in his supreme law of ethics, there is no mention made of working for the good of the whole, nor is there expressly contained in it any reference to the nature of the individual. Professor Diodato Liroy begins his exposition of the philosophy of Right, by shewing that in man individuality becomes "a free personality, which raises him above nature, although he lives in nature." (Philosophy of Right, translated by W. Hastie, vol. ii. p. 6.) Liroy contends that a man is capable of right because he is a being "who is sensitive, intelligent, and free." Now Mr Spencer's Formula of Justice has nothing in it, as abstractly expressed, to indicate the nature of the individual, nor to set forth, except in the vaguest possible way the relation of the individual to society. But the omission of all reference to the social organism makes it possible for Mr Spencer to attenuate the duties of the state to what Professor Huxley called "Administrative Nihilism," and to what he himself calls the administration of Justice alone, which practically means that each one must keep his place.

Suppose, however, the formula to hold good, can we make it work? In the appendix, Mr Spencer tells us that he had thought out this formula, and published it in *Social Statics* nearly forty years ago. He tells also how he found out that Kant had anticipated him, and gives us the Kantian formula. "Right, therefore, comprehends the whole of the conditions under which the voluntary actions of any one Person can be harmonized in reality with the voluntary actions of every other Person according to a universal law of Freedom." But a reference to Kant's *Philosophy of Law*, translated by Mr William Hastie, shows us that Kant could not get his formula to work until he made what he calls the 'Juridical postulate of the Practical Reason,' and he makes the assumption thus—"It is therefore an assumption *a priori* of the Practical Reason, to regard and treat every object within the range of my free exercise of Will as objectively a possible Mine or Thine," and with the help of this postulate he works out a system of right. Now, it is difficult to see how Mr Spencer can make his formula work as it stands without a postulate. Let us take for an example his treatment of "the right of property," and what is said on this point is applicable to all the "rights" discussed by him. He is not satisfied with Locke's statement which is "whatever then man removes out of the state that nature hath provided and left it in, he hath mixed his labour with, and joined with it something that is his own, and thereby

makes it his property." Mr Spencer argues thus, "One might reply that as, according to the premises, "the earth and all inferior creatures" are "common to all men," the consent of all men must be obtained before any article can equitably "remove from the common state nature hath placed it in." The question at issue is, whether by labour expended in removing it, a man has made his right to the thing greater than the pre-existing right of *all* other men put together. The difficulty thus arising may be avoided, however (Justice, p. 95). The way in which Mr Spencer avoids the difficulty is to point out the ways by which rights have been established with due regard to the right of all other men. Briefly, these may be described as by "contract." But Mr Spencer has not seen that his objection to Locke's view, is really fatal to all rights of property whatsoever. Modifying his answer to Locke, we may ask, can any one, can any tribe, can any society, bestow a right greater than the pre-existing right of all other men put together? It is interesting to compare "Social Statics" with "Justice." In the former work he came to the conclusion that "Equity does not permit property in land." Now he comes to the conclusion that "individual ownership, subject to state-suzerainty, should be maintained," and the change of view arises from the fact that he had not seen what "would be implied by the giving of compensation for all that value, that the labour of ages has given to the land." But it is not clear how this flows from the law of equal freedom. Why should I have a better chance than any one else? or any one else a better chance than I have? Why should one man be free to own a part of Scotland from sea to sea, and another be stewed up in a factory from eight to twelve hours a day? Why, according to the law of equal freedom, should one man count for 10,000, and another for the fraction of a unit? The law of equal freedom can give no answer. The law of equal freedom sanctions all the cruelties committed by Industrialism, that form of united action praised so highly by Mr Spencer. It sanctions also all that that abstract deductive system of Political Economy, now happily on the wane, has formulated. It is consistent with making railway servants work fifteen or sixteen hours at a stretch. Consistent also with all the horrors accumulated by Karl Marx in that chapter in his work on "Capital," called "Machinery and Modern Industry." This principle of ultimate equity is either barren, *i.e.*, rights cannot be deduced from it, or if rights can be deduced they are consistent with wrongs as great as have ever happened on earth.

We need other and stronger, and more practical ethical principles. We need to start with the idea of men as persons, sensitive, intelligent and free, who ought to be bound together in a social organism. We are to be used as persons, and to use others as persons. Hegel's

formula has a deeper ethical significance than that of Kant, or that of Spencer. "Be a person and respect others as persons." It might readily be shown that this imperative really does contain a complete formula of justice, and sets forth not only rights but duties. In this connection we refer to Green's *Principles of Political Obligation* contained in his *Collected Works*, vol. II.

Why should I be just? The only answer we have from the law of freedom is that if I act unjustly something unpleasant will happen to me. The only sense of "ought" recognised by Mr Spencer is that which binds him to work for the furtherance of the highest life. But suppose that I do not recognise the type of life sketched by Mr Spencer as a life high in any sense of the term; suppose that the type of man, which he names the evolved man in a fully evolved society, is one which seems to me far from admirable, why should I be bound to further that end? He who won his rank in the evolution of society by well-calculated selfishness, now keeps it by a well-calculated altruism, and he has got his reward. But why should I help that on if I think that it contains a type of life deficient in so many elements of a nobler nature? Then think of the utter wastefulness of Mr Spencer's philosophy. Take the sense of duty, trace the painful steps by which Mr Spencer tries to build it up, and see how it will vanish. Surely the power which works through evolution might have found a less expensive way. Take the highly evolved society which shall in the far distance reach equilibrium. Will it not be then subject to the law of the "Instability of the Homogeneous?" Will it not, with all its painfully-bought attainment, pass out of sight when the sun grows cold? If so, what is the worth of it all? Is our solar system to be resolved by some shock into a nebulous form again, and the weary cycle begin once more? What waste of time, and, above all, what waste of persons? May we not be allowed to suppose that such wastefulness does not lie in the purpose which formed the universe; that out of such toil some worthy outcome will surely be; that persons will survive; and that a community of moral persons will exist somewhere in a condition which will form a complete contrast to that ideal picture drawn by Mr Spencer of his perfectly evolved society?

JAMES IVERACH.

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### **The Preacher and his Models. The Yale Lectures on Preaching, 1891.**

*By the Rev. James Stalker, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton.  
Cr. 8vo. pp. 280. Price 5s.*

DR STALKER'S work on preaching deserves a cordial welcome for its method and spirit. Poets are not made by means of lectures on

poetry, nor preachers by lectures on preaching. A lecturer on preaching, unless he guards his words, may readily sap reverence for their office in the minds of young men, who, while the experienced practitioner initiates them into the secrets of making a religious impression, are tempted to draw the conclusion that preaching is after all a branch of histrionic art. There are reasons to make us specially jealous of such a spirit at present. The old indifference to ministerial efficiency and success has given place to an eager desire for both. The struggle between competitive churches, and reasons of a more honourable character, have led to strenuous endeavours to perfect what Dr Stalker calls, "The Machine of Religion." This machine, manned by a great company of workers, is now in full operation before our eyes, and it is certainly creditable to the ingenuity and energy of those who manage it. Dr Stalker asks, and others are asking the same question: "With all this bustling activity is the work done?" Mr Matthew Arnold was accustomed to say that the Examination System was killing disinterested love for letters; it is to be feared that elaborate organisations, and a too exclusive attention to them, are killing the simplicity and the gladness of Christian work.

The difficulty cannot be evaded, however, and must be faced, of giving instruction in the art of preaching without doing hurt to religious feeling; for we cannot, even if we would, return to the old system of neglect, at a time when candidates for the ministry are above all things eager to learn their profession. Dr Stalker has succeeded, we think, in pointing out the true way to reconcile conflicting interests, by insisting that all true preaching is a genuine outcome of the personal life and experience of the preacher. Having spoken of the call to the Ministry, he speaks thus of the need of a continued and progressive religious life. "Valuable as an initial call may be, it will not do to trade too long on such a mercy. A ministry of growing power must be one of growing experience. The minister must be able to use the language of religion not as the nearest equivalent he can find for that which he believes others to be passing through, but as the exact equivalent of that which he has passed through himself. Perhaps of all causes of ministerial failure the commonest lies here. Either we have never had a spiritual experience deep and thorough enough to lay bare to us the mysteries of the soul; or our experience is too old, and we have repeated it so often that it has become stale to ourselves."

Those weighty words deserve to be pondered; for there is a mischievous conventional way of speaking of the subject, as if all ministers were, of course, sufficiently religious, and only required a little more intellectual endowment, social culture, or practical energy in order to perform apostolic work. The truth is that the adequate religious



endowment is not only the most precious, but the rarest of ministerial gifts.

The two models which Dr Stalker places before his readers are Isaiah and St Paul. In writing of the former, he dwells upon the national aspect of the mission of the prophets, and this naturally leads to the burning question of the relation of the modern preacher to our national life. Modern preachers require a bit rather than a spur at present, for they are too much disposed to give pronouncements on public questions of which they are not always the best judges. The political preacher does more to secularise his flock, than to inspire the general public with Christian ideas. But there are public questions on which the Christian preacher cannot be silent. As Dr Stalker truly says, and the remark has a wider application, "It may be doubted whether any stage through which preaching has passed can ever be entirely superseded; and we may well hesitate to believe that the work of an Isaiah or a Jeremiah is not still work for us."

The chapter on St Paul contains some admirable delineations of the Apostle's inner life, but betrays a tendency to modernise St Paul. To convert the Apostle into a sober patron saint of sedate Presbyterian ministers who write their sermons, and commit them to memory, is not the best use to make of him. The Apostle, with his dreams and revelations, and his modes of apprehending and illustrating truth so unlike to ours, cannot well be introduced as a familiar figure, and St Paul up to date is somewhat fitted to recal ludicrous associations. In connection with St Paul at least two extraordinary literary judgments are given—that interesting collection of irrelevant archæology, Conybeare and Howson's "Life and Epistles of Saint Paul," is placed along with Owen's work on the "Holy Spirit," and Weiss's "New Testament Theology," "among the great books of the Christian centuries in which Christianity is exhibited as a whole by a master mind."

From only one of Dr Stalker's practical counsels do we seriously dissent, and solely for the reason that it cannot be followed without neglecting other counsels of more pressing moment. Ministers, he writes, must not only study the matter of their discourses, but devote "hard and sour" toil to their careful composition. As such toil as he requires, will certainly chain the minister to his desk during the best working hours of the whole week, it can be recommended only to preachers who undertake no pastoral duties. Dr Stalker, however, pleads for a more diligent performance of pastoral work, and for greater interest in individuals after the example of St Paul. He left his former charge, he informs us, burdened with the regretful memory that he had devoted too much time to his audience, and too little to the units of which his audience was composed. Regrets will not, however, rise into reformation, as long as pulpit pre-

paration requires an amount of wearing toil which leaves no remanent energy to any, save a few exceptionally vigorous natures. Reformation is required, however, not only by the needs of neglected flocks, but by the neglected population outside the Church. The modern Church stands face to face with classes of society, high and low, deeply alienated from the religion of Christ. If the good old maxim is not to be set aside, that the minister is the pastor of his flock and the evangelist of his parish, he must take a personal lead in evangelistic work, not leaving the most difficult and honourable part of his calling to the raw missionary or the untrained volunteer. This he can do only by discovering some less onerous method of preparing for the pulpit. Fenelon, at a time when elaborate preparation was the fashion, counselled candidates for the priesthood so to prepare for the ministry by general study, and by the acquisition of the habit of accurate composition, that they would have no need to prepare every particular discourse. This freer attitude to pulpit preparation, which is in harmony with the best traditions of the Christian Church, would restore many a ministerial recluse to his flock, and to the work of an evangelist.

Dr Stalker dismisses as a pious fraud, the common criticism that in Evangelical and especially in Free Churches, men come to Church to be spoken to by a man, rather than to speak to God. This does not, however, sufficiently recognise the practical evil at which the criticism is directed. If the hearers regarded the voice of the preacher as the voice of God, they would not make so much of his person, whether in the way of praise or blame; nor would they cease to listen, as they do now, when he has an unpleasant voice, or a defective delivery. The charge is true, although often urged in an unfriendly spirit. Any change that would restore Christian worship to its rightful place in the Free Churches, and remove the preacher from his present painful prominence, would be a gain alike to the popular and to the unpopular preacher. And it would unite congregations by a holier and more lasting bond than an attachment, however honourable and natural, to the ministrations of a favourite preacher.

We have dwelt upon the few points on which we differ from Dr Stalker; with his general spirit and method we are in cordial agreement. His lucid and instructive lectures may be heartily commended to all, especially to students of Divinity and to young ministers. They are very appropriately dedicated to Dr Whyte, whose generous interest in the work of a host of friends has proved an inspiring influence in many a life. The volume contains some aphorisms on preaching by the late Mr Barbour, which possess a pathetic interest from their tone of pleading eagerness on behalf of the work from which he was to be called away so early.

JOHN GIBB.

**The Apology of the Christian Religion, Historically regarded with reference to supernatural revelation and redemption.**

By *Rev. James Macgregor, D.D., Columba Church, Oamaru: sometime Professor of Systematic Theology in the New College, Edinburgh, author of Handbooks on Exodus and Galatians. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Demy 8vo, pp. 544. Price 10s. 6d.*

This is an extremely able, fresh, and interesting book. The author says of it in his Preface that "it is essentially what might be described as a layman's book," and this is true in the sense that it may be trusted at once to lay hold upon any earnest mind. But those also who are more especially concerned with theology should be attracted by it, and the professional apologete will find it suggestive.

It will be understood from the title that the volume does not profess to pass the entire apologetic argument in review. What may be termed the previous questions in that argument, the being and nature of God, His relations to the world and man, &c., are only incidentally touched upon, and consideration of the "internal evidence" in its various forms is expressly excluded. The writer's concern is solely with the obvious historic facts of Christianity and the inference which these suggest and sustain. Taken as a whole, is this great world-phenomenon the product of natural forces or no?—such is his question. And the answer is contained in the two-fold assertion of the supernatural character, first of the immediate effects of the Christian faith as it made good its place in the world in the course of the second century, and next of certain elements that enter into the substance of the faith itself.

Consideration of the former of these occupies the first of the two Books into which the work is divided. In going over ground so familiar as that traversed here there is scarcely room for much originality of treatment; nevertheless the author's sketch of the conflict of the faith with the various forces, imperial, superstitious, and philosophic, by which it was opposed in these early days, is both informing and impressive. More striking still is his description of the essential nature of the new religion as a thing which had power to effect "a new creation of mankind." The power of faith in Jesus Christ to fill with a new spirit and to bless with a new sanction every relationship of the varied life of man, could hardly be better exhibited.

But it is upon the argument of Book II. that the author expends his main strength. This he entitles "the external evidences," under which he includes the Person of Christ, the Resurrection, and Judaism as the *præparatio evangelii*. For apologetic purposes it might be thought more natural to begin with the last of these

topics, and to shew by an analysis of the main features of the faith and life of Israel both the supernatural elements they contained and also how the very incompleteness of these carried with it the suggestion of a fuller communication of the divine yet to come. Be that as it may, readers will find this part of his subject treated by Dr Macgregor with much vigour and luminousness; and in particular the point of the incompleteness of the *New Testament* without the *Old* is admirably put (ch. iii. § 1). For the rest, there is decided advantage gained in discussing the Person of Christ *before* the Resurrection. Of recent years the tendency has rather been to make the latter bear the full stress of the apologetic argument, as if it were here or nowhere that the supernatural got a footing in human history. Surely a questionable method to follow; Resurrection *per se* might carry very little with it; surely in the Christian faith it means what it does mean, just because it is Jesus Christ that was raised from the dead? Anyhow, the person of Christ is clearly *the* commanding fact in revelation, and it seems reasonable to put it rather in the forefront. Hence one could have wished that Dr Macgregor had given more space to the discussion of the "miracle of manhood" to be found in Christ—not only His sinlessness, but even more, His testimony to Himself express and incidental—and less, perhaps, to that of the miracles wrought by His hands. Still, these are apt to get less attention than is their due at present, and what Dr Macgregor has to say of their place and function in the Christian redemption is excellent, and often striking. On the whole, many will probably find the hundred pages on the Resurrection that form chapter ii. of this Book, the most effective portion of the entire work. The marshalling of the evidence from the general belief of the Christians, the institution of the Lord's Day, the apostolic testimony (and especially Paul's) and the Gospel records, is very complete and very convincing.

Perhaps it may be due to the fact that as it came originally from the author's hand, the volume contained not a little matter now excluded (see Preface), that the reader finds a certain difficulty in focussing the argument of this very able work as a whole. On the other hand, from the above slight indication it will be apparent that it is full of matter, and its power in particular passages is very great (see *e.g.*, on "The Christian Morality," Book I., ch. ii., § 2; on "Christ's Words," II., i., § 3; and on "Mosaism," iii., § 2). Whether it will do much to convince unbelief may be doubted—it would seem fitted rather for the confirmation of faith. The author's mode of controversy is not conciliatory. Throughout he wields a heavy weapon, and too often his treatment of the unbeliever suggests the tale of the Caliph Omar and the Christian with which he opens ("Cut me off that old man's head, unless he be silent"), only with the parts reversed.

ALEX. MARTIN.

**The Early Church.**

*The History of Christianity in the first Six Centuries, by the late David Duff, M.A., D.D., LL.D., Professor of Church History in the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh; edited by his son, David Duff, M.A., B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 623. Price 12s.*

THIS volume will be opened with the respect due to the monument of many years' labour, and to the work of one whose earthly activities have ceased. Dr Duff was long the honoured occupant of the Chair of Church History in the United Presbyterian College at Edinburgh, and both as a man, a minister, and an educationalist did good work for church and city. The present volume is the reproduction of his course of lectures on the history of the first six centuries. It is understood that such a course, repeated in great part from year to year, gives the lecturer recurring opportunities of bringing his work up to date, by weaving in the later results of scholarship, and by recasting various sections from time to time in accordance with his own more fully developed views; and the result may be expected to be the fruit of long study and slowly ripened judgment. These lectures had not been prepared by the author for publication, but the pious hand of his son has distributed the manuscript into chapters, made some necessary corrections, and provided references, notes, and index.

Dr Duff's work is not seen at its best in the opening chapters; and, in fact, the subject-matter of the first nine or ten should now be recognised as belonging to the domain of New Testament History or Theology, the departments which must be called upon to supply the true prolegomena to Church History. Short sections, descriptive of the lives and influence of SS. Peter and John, are either out of place here, or are altogether too short and sketchy; there is no attempt to run out the lines of their influence to the sub-Apostolic age. And to dismiss St Paul in four pages is again to raise doubt as to the writer's adequate sense of proportion. But when Dr Duff reaches his own proper field, he meets with subjects which he can handle with wide knowledge and considerable skill. He shows that familiarity with the original sources which is the guarantee of a true and scholarly interest in the subject; and he provides the student with careful and spirited translations of important passages. Many of the monographs, such as those on Montanism and Pelagianism, and the studies of Tertullian, Ambrose, or Origen, are carefully and sympathetically done. On the other hand, Jerome and Chrysostom hardly receive a fair measure of attention; while the treatment of Gnosticism leaves much to be desired in thoroughness and in arrange-

ment. The mingling of things that belong to a text-book, and those that belong to a history; emphasizes the conviction that this subject will never be satisfactorily taught until the professor has a text-book which he can confidently put into the hands of his class, and until he can secure that they are in full possession of the dates and skeleton facts, which he can then proceed to vitalize and clothe with ideas.

Dr Duff has taken the original documents for his sources, but his modern guides are in the main Hagenbach and Schaff, to the exclusion of later or more scientific authorities. He was apt to ignore or reject, as it seems to us on insufficient grounds, results of modern research. Such, for example, as M. Waddington's recovery of the true date of Polycarp's death, which Dr Duff fixes still at 166. Many subjects which are at present of pressing interest, lack adequate treatment. The formation of the Canon (neither Papias nor the Diatessaron is referred to), the attitude of different heresiarchs to the Scriptures of the Old Testament, the area of various persecutions, the gradual consolidation of the Catholic Church, are subjects demanding more direct and full discussion than they here receive.

But Dr Duff differs from other historians who analyse more profoundly the causes of events, and the development of tendencies, in this, that he is always alive to the religious bearing of events and of movements. They are, for him, not mere events to be recorded and analysed with scientific precision, but motions of the human will either in accordance with, or contrary to, the will of the Spirit of God. There is room for impressionism in history as well as in art. Dr Duff has moved familiarly among the events, documents, and human actors of these first six centuries, and we may be grateful that he has left us the record of the impression made by these things upon a mind of singular candour, and a spirit of earnest piety.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

### **Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.**

1891. *Viertes Heft.*

This number is occupied for the most part by one of Holsten's discussions in Biblical Theology. The subject is "The Origin and Development of the Messianic Consciousness of Jesus."

I. *The Problem.*—Presupposing the fact that Jesus was certain of His Messiahship, three points require treatment: (1) the peculiar individuality of Jesus, which is simply to be recognised, not understood; (2) the historical relations of His time; and (3) the manner in which the former was affected by the latter. The certainty of

Messiahship involved two elements: one experimental, the consciousness of a special endowment with God's Spirit; one inferential, the conviction that as so inspired He was the destined Son of God and Saviour. The origin of these convictions, and their development by a breach with the popular ideal into the Messianic consciousness peculiar to Jesus Himself form the Problem. Assuming a purely human development, the Messiahship of Jesus is to be regarded as one of its steps, the certainty of Messiahship as a moment—something belonging to the growth of His self-consciousness. The Synoptists present a different view in their accounts of the Baptism. To them the Messiahship is a definite act of God. But their accounts according to Holsten, are a creation of the early Jewish-Christians, who found such a creation necessary for the grounding of their own faith and the conviction of others. Its *form* is due to the contemporary circle of thought which moulded it. Historical criticism must therefore disregard this representation. By way of preparation for the inquiry, Holsten here adduces the case of St Paul, who, from the sight of the crucified Jesus (a matter of *experience*), reached the conclusions as to the place of Christ's death in the divine saving intention and his own mission to preach this truth to the heathen as a new revelation from Heaven. He regards the case of our Lord as a parallel to this.

II. *The Solution.*—The points treated here are—1. *The Significance of the Times.*—Judea became at its own request an integral part of the Empire. The rule of the Cæsars and the sovereignty of Jehovah were united. But immediately thereafter the national religious sentiment blazed up in protest against the iniquity of tax and census. In the South this was repressed. In the North it was fanned by the Zealots, who appealed to arms unsuccessfully. All over it gave rise to a new ardour for Jehovah and the theocratic ideal. From the same exciting cause, though apparently with no direct connection with Judas and Zadok, arose the movement of John. Its aim was to purify the people and so prepare for the fulfilment of the Messianic promises. John was the prophet of a coming kingdom, and therefore of a coming Messiah. The condition for this was a holy nation. But John's demands were too external. He wished to reanimate the old system. What men needed was a new life-germ, and this Jesus supplied. 2. *The Coming One.*—The early years of Jesus were nourished on a pure and simple faith in the Heavenly Father, far from the Temple cultus with its rites and forms. His growth was thus purely spiritual. The stirring times through which He lived influenced Him greatly—the contrast between the mighty world-kingdom with its iniquities and the kingdom of God, the hope of a Deliverer, the desire for righteousness. To one like Jesus the movement of the

Zealots savoured of rank impiety ; their methods were too like those of Rome, and their defeat a judgment of God. This was the origin of the breach in the consciousness of Jesus with the national Davidic ideal, and it was completed by His experience of the results which followed the insurrection. God had thus plainly rejected this popular ideal. In this mind came Jesus to the baptism of John. The call of John sounded like the echo of His own inner voice. Jesus believed John to be the forerunner. But He knew that a different spirit dwelt in Himself. He felt the contrast, and this only urged Him the more to devote Himself to the bringing in of the kingdom of heaven. 3. *The One who has come.*—The imprisonment of John was the call to open activity. He went to Galilee and there preached repentance, but with a different righteousness as His aim—one of the heart. The effect of His appearance on the people combined with His own self-witness to assure Him that the Spirit of God spoke by Him. Still more decisively His healing works proclaimed His inspiration. Hence the experimental certainty that by the Spirit of God He had been raised above the limits of humanity. This was a gift of God. What was its aim ? Only the revelation which a Jew saw in the facts of history could answer that, and their testimony was clear. It was (1) that Rome was the last of the kingdoms to oppose Jehovah (as in Daniel), who would soon bring in His own kingdom ; (2) that John was the prophet sent to warn men of its coming ; (3) that the people were being prepared by the call and words of John and Jesus ; (4) that God must soon send the Messiah to set up the kingdom ; (5) that Jesus, as sent by God and filled with the spirit, did the works prophesied of the Messiah (Mat. xi. 14). Hence arose in the soul of Jesus the conviction that He *was* the Messiah,—the secret of His equipment was clear. Jesus had broken with the Davidic ideal, finding a justification in the prophecy of Daniel's "Son of Man," and with this step His Messianic consciousness was complete. For the special significance of this expression the reader is referred to the abstract of a discussion of it by Holsten in last number. In it He found Himself, as He was in His weakness, a Son of Man, chosen of God, endowed with Messianic power, destined to return to God, and to rise to a reign of glory in heaven. The other articles are : "Studies on Romans iv. 16," by Küssner ; "Krumbacher's History of Byzantine Literature," by Dräseke ; and "Luke ii. 8-16, explained in Greek by Origen," edited by A. Thenn.

FREDERICK J. RAE.



Notices.

THE last contribution made by Professor Beet to the exposition of the Pauline Epistles<sup>1</sup> is perhaps his best. He takes in one sweep the four Epistles belonging to the first imprisonment—a large task, but one accomplished with much success. The best qualities of Mr Beet's exegesis appear in this volume, continuous attention to questions of grammar, study of the use of words, and careful reproduction of Pauline thought in modern terms. To these he adds things which are less germane to the exegete's work than to that of the Systematic Theologian. A fair amount of space is given to questions of introduction, including the state of the text. These are handled in popular form, but discreetly. Meyer's reasoning in behalf of the Cæsarean imprisonment as the one in view in these Epistles, is briefly refuted, and the four are taken to have been sent from Rome in this order—Philippians, Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians. The argument in favour of the priority of Philippians is of some substance, and is very clearly stated here. It is different with the order of the remaining three. Colossians is placed where it is, as "dealing with a specific matter;" Philemon as "dealing with another specific but less important matter;" while Ephesians is put last, apparently because it "treats of no specific matter, but sets forth, from its own point of view, the eternal purpose of salvation, and its realisation in the one Church of Christ." Both in its exegesis and in its special dissertations, the book shews careful use of the best sources. The guides chiefly followed are Meyer and Hofmann, Ellicott and Lightfoot. One of the best examples of Mr Beet's exposition is seen in his pages on the great Christological passage in Philippians ii. Here he gives good reason for preferring Meyer and Hofmann to Lightfoot. Retaining the natural sense of *ἀρπαγμός*, he takes the idea to be that "the Son did not look upon His Divine powers as a means of self-enrichment." It is, however, rather a paraphrase than a rendering of the term "form of God," to make it mean "the assertion of His Divine powers."

Mr Sadler's Commentary on the Catholic Epistles<sup>2</sup> follows a different method. The paramount interests are the practical and doctrinal. It is not "critical" in the sense in which any scientific commentary is critical. There is but scant investigation of textual,

<sup>1</sup> "A Commentary on St Paul's Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and to Philemon." By Joseph Agar Beet. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo. Pp. xi.-413. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> The General Epistles of SS. James, Peter, John, and Jude. With Notes Critical and Practical. By the Rev. M. F. Sadler, Prebendary of Wells, &c. London: George Bell & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxix.-305. Price 6s.

grammatical, or historical questions, and but little of the balancing of the conclusions of acknowledged masters in exegesis. Some of the Fathers are occasionally appealed to, but there is only a limited reference to modern interpreters. What we have is rather a popular and theological exposition, given with a view to the teaching of the Church. It will be valued most by those who are in ecclesiastical sympathy with the author. It will be of special use to preachers and teachers who are in agreement with Mr Sadler in his idea of the Church and its doctrine. The Exegetical Notes are for the most part brief. Where the dogmatic element is present, they are such as will commend themselves only to a class. Where that is wanting, they are often just and profitable. On some points, too, Mr Sadler's independence appears. He dissents from Bishop Wordsworth and others with whom he usually agrees, when they identify James the son of Alphæus with James the Lord's brother.

The four volumes of pulpit Discourses by the late Bishop Lightfoot, which have been already noticed, are followed by a fifth.<sup>1</sup> It consists of sermons delivered on special occasions in Westminster Abbey, St Paul's Cathedral, and elsewhere. Among the most noticeable are those with the titles "*All things are yours*" and "*All things to all men.*" They indicate the practical purpose which the great scholar gave to his preaching, and the rich stores of historical knowledge which he brought into its service. The trustees of the Lightfoot Fund have also judged well in re-publishing the Bishop's book on the Revision of the New Testament.<sup>2</sup> It was one of the weightiest contributions to the subject at the time. Its statements on various points in New Testament grammar and lexicography are of value still; some of them indeed, such as those on the idea of *Law* in the Pauline Epistles, are conspicuously so. The usefulness of this third edition is increased by the addition of the very able and searching dissertation on the last petition of the Lord's Prayer, which appeared originally in the form of a series of papers in the *Guardian*, and in which Dr Lightfoot threw all the resources of his great learning and acumen into the defence of the Revisers against Canon Cook and other assailants of the rendering "deliver us from the evil one."

<sup>1</sup> Sermons Preached on Special Occasions. By the late Joseph Barber Lightfoot, D.D., &c. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii.-280. Price 6s.

<sup>2</sup> On a Fresh Revision of the English New Testament. By the late Joseph Barber Lightfoot, D.D., &c. Reprinted with an additional Appendix on the Last Petition of the Lord's Prayer. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxvi.—342. Price 7s. 6d.

Another volume from the same Trustees, a manual edition of the *Apostolic Fathers*,<sup>1</sup> supplies a want. Bishop Lightfoot's great work embraced only Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp. It omitted a number of writings, which it is convenient to have together, and which are of interest and importance in many ways. This volume includes these—the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, the *Teaching of the Apostles*, the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the *Epistle to Diognetus*, the *Fragments of Papias*, the *Reliques of the Elders*. The original texts are accompanied by English translations. There are also brief Introductions. The chief regret is that these Introductions are so very brief. The many questions connected with Clement, Polycarp, and the *Didaché* are dismissed in each case with a page or two. If more complete summaries, both of the Bishop's own investigations and of the judgments of different scholars on the critical and historical problems could be given in a new edition, even at the cost of making two volumes, the work would be doubly useful. As it is, it will be very serviceable, especially as regards the excellent translations. Mr Harmer has executed his task with great credit, and his task embraced not only the editor's duty, but the completing of much that was left incomplete. The book will be valued both for its own usefulness and as a memorial of some of the Bishop's best and most characteristic contributions to scholarship.

Three books deal in different ways with the Pseudepigraphical literature of Judaism and Christianity. One of these is Mr Deane's *Pseudepigrapha*.<sup>1</sup> Mr Deane has been known as a student in this field for years, and the present volume consists of papers (corrected and enlarged) contributed from time to time to various periodicals. The books selected are taken as examples of four different types of the literature in question. They are the *Psalter of Solomon*, illustrating the Lyrical; the *Book of Enoch*, the *Assumption of Moses*, the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, as instances of the Apocalyptic and Prophetic; the *Book of Jubilees* and the *Ascension of Isaiah*, as examples of the Legendary; and the *Sibylline Oracles*, which are classified as mixed. In each case we have a careful digest of the history of the book and its contents, together with references to the literature of the subject. The main questions of criticism are also noticed. The whole is done

<sup>1</sup> The Apostolic Fathers. . . Revised Texts with Short Introductions and English Translations. By the late J. B. Lightfoot, D.D., &c. Edited and completed by J. R. Harmer, M.A., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, &c. London: Macmillan & Co. Svo, pp. xii.-568. Price 16s.

<sup>2</sup> Pseudepigrapha: an Account of certain Apocryphal and Sacred Writings of the Jews and Early Christians. By the Rev. William J. Deane, M.A., &c. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Demy Svo, pp. vi.-348. Price 7s. 6d.

with sobriety and good sense. Mr Deane indulges in no feats of critical dexterity or novel theorising on date, authorship, or integrity. He adopts for the most part the prevailing views on these questions. He admits the composite character of the *Book of Enoch*, holding the parable sections to be later than Chapters i.-xxxvi. and lxxii.-cv., but yet pre-Christian. On the other hand, and with less reason, he rejects the interpolation theory of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and claims the book as the production of a single Jewish Christian writer. Is it the case, too, that the Ethiopic version of the Book of Enoch is from the Hebrew?

Mr Thomson's<sup>1</sup> aim is to give a critical study of Apocalyptic Jewish literature, and he does this in four books, which deal respectively with the background of Apocalyptic, the evolution of Apocalyptic, the criticism, and the theological result. To some extent he travels over the same ground as Mr Deane, and on many questions the two agree. There are some, however, on which they differ. Mr Thomson, for example, places the *Book of Jubilees* between B.C. 5 and A.D. 6, and the *Apocalypse of Baruch* not long after B.C. 63. Mr Deane, on the other hand, puts the former considerably later, and brings the latter down to about A.D. 90. In his two main points Mr Thomson attempts to prove too much. He fails to produce evidence of such an acquaintance on our Lord's part with the literature in question as to justify the title of his book. He also fails, as we think, to establish the Essene origin of this literature as a whole, and still more to prove our Lord Himself to have been "in some sense a member of the sect of the Essenes"—a thing surely hard to reconcile with His own teaching. Even his most disputable positions, however, show the author to have the critical gift; and there are many acute things in his volume. It is written with great vivacity, ingenuity, and independence, with genuine appreciation of the period, and with much fertility of idea. Among the more interesting arguments are those in favour of early dates for the ninetieth chapter of the Book of Enoch (assigned to before B.C. 160), and the *Book of Similitudes* (placed about half a century earlier still), and that in defence of the morality of pseudonymous authorship. The principle of this defence is seen when it is said of the writer of the *Apocalypse of Baruch* that "the similarity of the circumstances suggested that Baruch, the secretary of Jeremiah, must have looked with similar feelings on the earlier scene." The obscure author therefore, without dishonest purpose, identified himself with Baruch, or imagined himself to be Baruch. But does this explain all that the sinking of his own name and individuality implies?

<sup>1</sup> "Books which have influenced Our Lord and His Apostles," &c. By John E. H. Thomson, B.D., Stirling. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. xvi., 497. Price 10s. 6d.

The other volume<sup>1</sup> dealing with the same literature is of a kind for which we are especially grateful. It is an original and independent study of one composition of very great interest, the *Psalms of Solomon*. Great pains have been spent upon the text. Previous editors have had a very meagre basis for their text. The Augsburg MS., from which J. L. de la Cerda printed the *Psalter*, has disappeared. But Messrs Ryle and James have had four MSS. at their disposal, those of Vienna, Copenhagen, Moscow, and Paris, and their edition rests upon a careful collation and estimate of these. In this respect it far surpasses anything we yet possess. An English translation is also given: there is a very useful Commentary; and the historical questions are fully considered. The date is fixed to be of Pompey's time, the foreign invader being shown to be Pompey, not Titus, Antiochus Epiphanes, or Herod. Fortunately there can be little doubt as regards this. The allusions in the second Psalm make it clear enough that it belongs to the close of Pompey's career. The book is also rightly taken to be of Palestinian origin, the place of writing being Jerusalem. The probability of an original Hebrew text is carefully argued, and the Greek translation is assigned to a period not later than A.D. 100. The important question of the circle of thought represented by the book is thoroughly examined, and the right conclusion, as we believe, is reached. The opinion that it comes from the Sadducees has little to commend it. In many respects, the book is rather a polemic or complaint against that party, and its entire attitude is different from that of a Sadducee. The idea that it is the product of Essenism is well put in Mr Thomson's volume. But, apart from other things not easily reconciled with such an origin, there is the absence of the mystical element which is held to belong to Essenism. The argument in favour of the Pharisaic connection, drawn from the political allusions, the theology and other phenomena, is very conclusively stated here. The editors allow themselves a tolerably free hand in the conjectural emendation of the Text. Opinions will differ as to their success in this. At times at least—as in iii. 9; xvii. 37—their corrections commend themselves by their simplicity and fitness. Justice is done to the religious ideas of the Psalms, both Messianic and theological, of Retribution. The somewhat indeterminate nature of their teaching on the subject of Retribution is recognised. The position taken is that they do not limit the principles of retribution to the present life; that they have a clear doc-

<sup>1</sup> "The Psalms of the Pharisees, commonly called The Psalms of Solomon. The text newly revised from all the MSS. Edited, with Introduction, English Translation, Notes, Appendix, and Indices. By Herbert Edward Ryle, M.A., &c., and Montague Rhodes James, M.A. Cambridge University Press. Svo pp. xciv.-175. Price 15s.

trine of eternal life for the righteous ; and that, while the expressions are doubtful, it is, perhaps, right to say that "our Psalmist denied a 'resurrection to life' in the case of the wicked, although he did not call in question the continuity of their personal existence." The book is a distinct and valuable addition to English scholarship, and to our knowledge of an important piece of literature.

Among smaller publications we notice Mr Callan's volume on *Jerusalem*,<sup>1</sup> a clear, compact, and interesting sketch of the wonderful and tragic story of the Holy City from its beginning on till now ; and Professor Stewart's *Handbook of Christian Evidences*,<sup>2</sup> one of the series of Guild and Bible-class text-books. The latter volume, though of modest size, compasses a great sweep of territory. It gives condensed statements of the more abstruse sections of Apologetics, as well as of the easier. It does it all in clear and forcible language, and in a style thoroughly suited to the object in view. The closing statement as to the cumulative effect of the Christian evidences is especially well done. The great questions of *Revelation* and *Miracles* are also excellently handled. Mr Muir's volume,<sup>3</sup> originally making part of the same series of Guild and Bible-class text-books, is now issued in an enlarged and handsome form. It is written in admirable style, and gives a very interesting sketch of the story of the Scottish Church. There are some opinions expressed from which those will dissent who do not view the history from Mr Muir's standpoint, which is that of an energetic defender of the branch of the Church to which he belongs ; and certain events as well as certain men obtain perhaps a disproportionate place. But the author's judgments are generally just and fair, and he has succeeded in presenting in a very attractive form the results of careful and extensive study. The chapters on the earlier history, the first missionaries, the Culdees, Margaret and David, and those on the first and second Reformations, are remarkably succinct, lucid, and informing narratives.

Professor Sabatier's *L'apôtre Paul*<sup>4</sup> has been widely recognised as one of the acutest, most suggestive, and in some respects, most novel studies of the great Apostle's personality and doctrine. The most

<sup>1</sup> The Story of Jerusalem. By the Rev. Hugh Callan, M.A. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Pp. 96. Price 6d. and 8d.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh and London : A. & C. Black. Pp. ix.-94. Price 6d.

<sup>3</sup> The Church of Scotland. A Sketch of its History. By the Rev. Pearson M'Adam Muir. New edition with Notes and Index. London and Edinburgh : A. & C. Black. Pp. xi., 229. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> The Apostle Paul : A Sketch of the Development of his Doctrine. By A. Sabatier. Translated by A. M. Hellier. Edited, with an Additional Essay on the Pastoral Epistles, by George G. Findlay, B.A. London : Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xix.-402. Price, 7s. 6d.

distinctive thing about it is the attempt it makes to read the Pauline doctrine in connection with Paul's own spiritual experience, and to trace the progress in the former corresponding to a progress in the latter. Whether he is right as regards the particular zones in Paul's thought which he thinks he discovers in connection with particular stages in Paul's life is doubtful. It is still more doubtful whether any antagonism or substantial difference appears between Paul's earlier stage and his later. But there can be no doubt that the doctrine and the experience are in real relation to each other in Paul. It has been a loss to Biblical Theology that this has been overlooked. It is a gain to have our attention directed to it. It is some twenty years now since Sabatier's book was written. We are glad to have it even at this late date in an English translation, and one so good as this. We owe much also to Professor Findlay for the very vigorous and scholarly essay which he adds in defence of the Pastoral Epistles. Sabatier's *Paul* makes stimulating reading, whatever may be thought of some of its characteristic positions. Its value is enhanced for the English reader by Professor Findlay's contributions.

Mr Dyer's book<sup>1</sup> on the *Gods of Greece* consists of a course of Lectures given at the Lowell Institute. It deals chiefly with Demeter, Dionysus, Æsculapins, Aphrodite, Apollo, and with the Sanctuaries of Eleusis, Athens, Paphos, Delos, Unidos. It contains a mass of matter thoroughly digested and admirably expounded. There are statements in it which a larger acquaintance with the methods of Comparative Religion would modify. Its advantage is that it brings the results of recent excavations under the notice of the general public in a very attractive form. The lectures must have been interesting to listen to. On such subjects as the *Mysteries*, and the *Deification of the Roman Emperors*, Mr Dyer writes to purpose. He describes successfully the larger ideas and more familiar customs of the religion. The value of his book is that it gives a good popular account of the religious system of the Greeks.

Professor Kirkpatrick has done well in publishing the series of Lectures delivered at Ely and in the Cathedral of St Asaph.<sup>2</sup> They deal in a wise and reverent spirit with the Old Testament, its Origin, its Preservation, its Inspiration, and its Use. Their object is to help us to a right temper in presence of the critical questions which are so deeply exercising the public mind. There could be

<sup>1</sup> *Studies of the Gods of Greece at certain Sanctuaries recently excavated.* By Louis Dyer, B.A.Oxon., late Assistant-Professor in Harvard University. London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. 457. Price 8s. 6l. net.

<sup>2</sup> *The Divine Library of the Old Testament, &c.* By A. F. Kirkpatrick, B.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co., 8vo, pp. xviii.-155. Price 3s. 6d. net.

nothing better or more seasonable, and all that Professor Kirkpatrick here says is entirely in harmony with his declared object. He takes in hand the literary processes which have made the Old Testament books what they are, and gives a scholarly account of these. He exhibits the just relations in which the human element stands to the Divine in these books, and the characteristics of their inspiration which are gathered from a study of themselves. He pleads for the recognition of a true criticism, however it may seem to conflict with prepossession and traditional ideas, as the ally of religion and of faith. The closing Lecture is a convincing statement of the permanent value of the Old Testament, and the place it must hold in the Christian Church. Much is to be hoped from the circulation of a book of this spirit, coming from a scholar of Professor Kirkpatrick's name.

A text-book which has gone into its tenth edition needs no recommendation here. Professor Davidson's *Hebrew Grammar* has reached that honourable position. Certain changes, in the introduction of new examples and in the enlargement of some parts where brevity tended to obscurity, will add to the already great merits and widely acknowledged usefulness of the book.<sup>1</sup>

The second volume of the *Expository Times*<sup>2</sup> comes to hand, full of good and varied matter, more than fulfilling the first promise, and doing great credit to the editor's energy. Among many papers that might be specially noticed, we mention those by Canon Cheyne on *Zoroastrian Influence on the Religion of Israel*, Professor Ryle on the *Early Narratives of Genesis*, and Dr Rainy on *Ritschl, Lightfoot, and Hatch*.

Mrs Oliphant has followed up her successful venture with *Royal Edinburgh* for Christmas 1890, by a similar venture with *Jerusalem* for Christmas 1891.<sup>3</sup> The book is as sumptuous as its predecessor, richly illustrated (though in this respect it does not come up to the last year's standard), and written in Mrs Oliphant's wonted style. No grander subject could she have found for her pen, and she takes it up *con amore*. She does not profess to address the erudite. She seems to have rather a scorn of that class. "Let them not lose ten tickings of their watch on this unprofitable writing," is her counsel to them. Nevertheless she has her own opinions, and expresses them with confidence, on questions which anxiously engage the minds of the learned and of others besides. She has her fling at

<sup>1</sup> An Introductory Hebrew Grammar, with Progressive Exercises in Reading and Writing. By A. B. Davidson, M.A., LL.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. viii.-200. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by the Rev. James Hastings, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 284. Price 4s.

<sup>3</sup> Jerusalem: Its History and Hope. By Mrs Oliphant. London: Macmillan & Co. Med. 8vo., pp. xxiii.-515. Price 21s.



Wellhausen and Kuenen, her word on the Book of Jasher, the Pentateuchal problem, the internal evidence of the Psalms, and what not. These are things thrust into the Introduction, which might have been spared without loss to the book. *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*. But this preliminary canter over, she keeps a straight and pleasant course. She directs her strength to her proper task of making the great scenes in an extraordinary history live again. Beginning with David's time, she takes us from stage to stage in the wonderful story till we come to Calvary. She omits much. She passes by the dim times before the days of the Shepherd of Bethlehem, and says nothing of the later passages, with all their tragic interest. But within the limits she sets herself she gives a series of word sketches of the greater scenes and more imposing personages connected with the sacred city. So far, her book is a vivid reproduction of the sacred page on an enlarged scale.

Dr Dods publishes in book form a number of Essays<sup>1</sup> contributed to various periodicals during many years of an extraordinarily busy life. They well deserve republication. Many who read them with profit and enjoyment when they first appeared, will read them with renewed enjoyment and with pleasant memories in this collected form. Opinion has changed so considerably within the last fifteen or twenty years, that it is doubtful whether all judgments expressed in these essays will be as generally acceptable now as then. This question applies only, however, to one or two of these papers, especially to that on Maurice. The book has all the strong, clear qualities of the unwearied author's thinking and writing. All pastors and students for the ministry should study the address on *Preaching*. The characterisation of Erasmus is just, yet generous. The articles on Confucius and Marcus Aurelius are most appreciative. There is a noble ring in the essay on Christianity and Civilisation, which makes it a very opportune statement.

The *Revised Version*, for a year or two the cause of so much debate, and so much in the eye of the public, has passed into strange quietude. The steady demand for it at the bookseller's counter, however, shows that it keeps its hold upon a large, and, we hope, increasing class. Its merits are so great, after all abatements are made, that it would say little for English discernment if it were to sink out of notice. We welcome, therefore, the fresh witness offered to the contrary by the publication of three new editions.<sup>2</sup> These are

<sup>1</sup> Erasmus and other Essays. By Marcus Dods, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Svo, pp. 376. Price 5s.

<sup>2</sup> The Revised Version of the Bible. London: Henry Frowde, and C. J. Clay & Sons. Ruby, 16mo, thin, with Indexed Atlas, pp. 956 ( $6\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{3}{4}$  inches). Price from 12s. 6d., in Turkey morocco. The same, Minion Svo ( $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{3}{4}$  inches). Price from 20s., in Turkey morocco. The same, Pica, Royal Svo ( $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2} \times 2$  inches), from 52s. 6d., in Persian morocco.

marvels of the printer's art and the binder's. The use of the Oxford India paper in its most improved quality makes it possible now to do what a few years ago would have seemed quite impracticable. In one of these editions we have a volume of 2688 pages, comprising the five original royal octavo volumes, but presenting a type which it is a pleasure to read, and having the great advantage of continuous printing in one column. But each of these new editions has its own great and distinct recommendations, while all the three are wonders of clearness, cheapness, handiness, and elegance. The University Presses have excelled in these even their former achievements.

Father Bridgett's *Life of Bishop Fisher* has been followed by his *Life of Sir Thomas More*.<sup>1</sup> Both Lives are carefully written, and deserve attention. The interest of the second is greater than that of the first, but both show diligent study of the sources, and, for the most part, a fair spirit. Both commit themselves to estimates which are appropriate to the Roman Catholic point of view rather to any other. But neither can be charged with blind partisanship. Various things have occurred of late to direct attention anew to More. Among the signs of this renewed interest is the publication of Mr Rigg's elegant edition<sup>2</sup> of More's translation of the *Life and some of the Writings of that extraordinary genius, Pico della Mirandola*, "the phoenix of the arts." Father Bridgett does full justice to a rare and beautiful character. His book would have been still better if it had had less of the controversial element, and less of the disposition to disparage his predecessors in the same field. But the book has merits which deserve frank recognition. Not the least of these is the acquaintance it gives us with More's writings, which, in spite of their remarkable qualities, both grave and gay, are apt to pass into undeserved neglect.

We report with pleasure a new edition of Archdeacon Farrar's *Seekers after God*,<sup>3</sup> one of two or three books which we should place first in the ranks of this indefatigable author's many publications; a new edition also of Dean Paget's *The Spirit of Discipline*,<sup>4</sup> a volume of highly finished yet practical discourses, abounding in fine touches both of style and thought; and another volume from

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Blessed John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, and Martyr under Henry VIII.* By the Rev. T. E. Bridgett. London: Burns & Oates, Limited. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx.-508. Price 7s. 6d.

*Life and Writings of Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England, and Martyr under Henry VIII.* By the same. London: Burns & Oates, Limited. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxiv.-458. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. *His Life*, by his Nephew, Giovanni Francesco Pico. Also three of his Letters, &c. Translated from the Latin by Sir Thomas More. Edited, &c., by J. M. Rigg, Esq. London: David Nutt. Pp. 95. Price 10s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> London: Maemillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv.-336. Price 3s.

<sup>4</sup> London: Longmans & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii.-318. Price 6s. 6d.

the pen of Phillips Brooks, now Bishop Brooks,<sup>1</sup> of which it only requires to be said that it is equal to anything yet given us by one who stands at the head of American preachers, and has few equals in any country. Mr Gore's *Bampton Lectures*<sup>2</sup> have also come to hand. Reserving this book for a more adequate notice than our limits at present allow, we shall only say that it is a book of note, both for its own merits and as a token that the time is at hand when the attention which has been concentrated on questions of criticism will pass to the great questions of doctrine.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

## Record of Select Literature.

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- LÖWY, A. *Catalogue of Hebraica and Judaica in the Library of the Corporation of the City of London*. With a subject index. Printed under the direction of the Library Committee. London. Pp. xii., 232.
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<sup>1</sup> *The Light of the World*. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 373. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> *The Incarnation of the Son of God*. By Charles Gore, M.A., Principal of Pusey House. London: John Murray. 8vo, pp. xx.-276. Price 7s. 6d.

- THE BOOK OF PSALMS, according to the Authorised Version. Metrically arranged, with Introduction, Various Renderings, Explanatory Notes, and Index. London: The Religious Tract Society. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
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## The Incarnation of the Son of God. Bampton Lectures for 1891.

*By Charles Gore, M.A., Principal of Pusey House. London : John Murray. Fifth Thousand. Demy 8vo, pp. xx. 276. Price 7s. 6d. 1891.*

WHEN Mr Gore edited *Lux Mundi*, and furnished the essay which was his own special contribution to that volume, he impressed the reading public as the representative of a new type. A convinced and devout High Churchman, he was yet studiously open to ideas and currents of opinion characteristic of our time. He had felt their force, and he had faced the question how far they were valid. Arriving at the conclusion that to some extent they were so, he found reason to think also that they could be harmonised, so far, with the theology of his school. He came forth, therefore, with a scheme modified under these influences. He taught his theology to speak its message to the age, by adopting so far, and adapting to itself, important tendencies of contemporary thought. The conspicuous instance of this was his recognition of results of recent Old Testament criticism. He has been misrepresented, no doubt, on this point, as if he had announced his readiness to admit the whole range of Wellhausen's positions. That was a mistake. Still, he admitted a very considerable range of open questions ; and he deprecated all constructions of the faith, and all interpretations of our Lord's authoritative teaching which would summarily close them. For the rest, the public, in its impatient way, has taken for granted that Mr Gore was thinking of little else than Old Testament questions and the right way of dealing with them. That, too, seems a mistake. Mr Gore has not neglected this part of his responsibilities ; but he has been thinking over his theology in relation to various intellectual interests besides that one.

The Lectures now before us reveal the same habits of thought. The Incarnation is for Mr Gore in no conventional sense the centre of the faith. The right conception and statement of it is, in his view, the chief task of any Christian thinker. This book becomes impressive, because the significance of the incarnate Christ for the writer's mind becomes so apparent to the reader. His candour, his reverence, his frankness, his reserve, all contribute to the same effect. And he has meditated on the doctrine and on its evidences, not indeed in relation to all modern tendencies of thought, but in relation to some.

As for the result, the worth of the book may perhaps be stated on the whole in this way—It shows the reader how the faith of the Incarnation holds its place in a reflective mind which is sensitive to many modern ways of thinking, both on truth and duty, and which would deal candidly with those elements of the time, and give them their proper place. In this way a method and a mode of view are suggested, and a set of positions is indicated which will be useful to many—as much, perhaps, to the thoughtful, non-professional reader as to the theologian. We do not mean by this that the book is weak theologically. Mr Gore is a theologian : he believes in theology : he never forgets the obligations of the theologian in connection with any positions which he takes up. But his survey of the field, while it fulfils the useful purpose above described, has too wide a range to admit of close and thorough discussion of points requiring that mode of treatment.

A word must be said in commendation of the style. The author deals with arduous topics. But he succeeds, at each stage, in putting briefly and easily what he wishes to express, and so passes on to the next point, without haste and without delay. Hence the reader is carried easily along. In addition, Mr Gore is almost always clear, often dexterous, and sometimes felicitous. Some one has said elsewhere that the book is not merely theology, but also literature.

The scheme of the Lectures may be indicated. The first asserts the central place in Christian religion which is held by the Person of its founder ; and points out that this depends on the faith that His personality is divine. The second discusses the thesis that Christ, conceived in general in this way, is supernatural on the one hand, yet in a high sense natural on the other. The third considers the function of historical evidence in a case like this, and argues that the evidence, in point of fact, is adequate and satisfying—in particular, the hypothesis of a legendary deification, through the working of the imagination in ardent disciples, is contradicted by what we know. The fourth lecture maintains that the definitions of the general councils—the Catholic dogma—simply represent and guard the primitive faith of Christ as human and divine. They should not be looked on as adventitious growths, but as the same faith, now become conscious of its own meaning. Therefore the considerations which establish the central Christian conviction are available for the articulate and explicit form of it which the Church professes. Having thus reached his dogmatic position, the lecturer is now prepared to illustrate the significance of this great belief, to show how it illuminates for Christians the whole spiritual world which they inhabit. Accordingly, in his fifth lecture, Mr Gore discusses the knowledge hence arising to us of the being and

character of God. In the sixth, he asks what light the Incarnation sheds on human nature. Here he touches also on the limitations which the Son of God accepted in assuming human nature. Hence he finds two great topics arising for discussion. One, which occupies the seventh lecture, is Christ as the source of Authority. The other, which occupies the closing lecture, is the moral standard set by Christ, and the resources for attaining it, which He supplies. Mr Gore intimates that he has not found it possible to include in this course a discussion of the Atonement.

This summary will justify what has been said as to the wide field traversed. To various doubts and questions which have arisen about Revelation in general, Mr Gore, as it were, carries the Incarnation in particular. He finds this great Christian faith tenable in the face of each of them. Then he shows what a light it sheds in turn upon our thoughts of God and man, of Revelation and religious certainty, of moral aims and of spiritual succour. This, let us repeat, is a happily conceived service to many minds. Far stretching relations of various kinds and on all sides, illustrate the place and worth of the great doctrine. But it is a very large survey for two hundred and thirty pages of text and forty of notes. And many questions must be somewhat summarily disposed of, which would bear, and perhaps which demand, a closer examination.

Speaking generally, Old Testament questions are so importunate at present, that Mr Gore's references to them, chiefly in the seventh lecture, had better be first disposed of. He accepts without question, on our Lord's witness, the authority and inspiration of the Old Testament writers generally. "But," he says, "it has been usual to go beyond this, and to assert that the authority of our Lord binds us to the acceptance of the Jewish tradition in regard to the authorship and literary character of different portions of the Old Testament—for example, that the use by our Lord of such a phrase as, 'Moses wrote of Me,' binds us to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch as a whole, and that His reference to the flood, or to Jonah's three days' entombment in the whale's belly, binds us to receive these narratives as simple history. To this argument I do not think that we need yield. The lessons inculcated by our Lord can be shown to inhere in the narratives, even if we cannot be sure of their exact authorship or literary character. That special assistance of the Holy Ghost which we call inspiration may have been given to a Jewish writer in any literary undertaking which the conscience of his age would have approved, as his assistance certainly was given to Jewish agents in imperfect forms of moral action: and what the Divine Spirit could inspire, Jesus in that same Spirit could recognise and use. Further, he must have alluded to the books of the Old Testament by their

recognised names,—the names by which men always will refer to them when they are speaking ordinary human language ; just as men will always speak of the poetry of Homer, even if the composite origin of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* comes to be universally recognised.”<sup>1</sup> All this is to be taken along with the declaration, “Let it be said at once that we could not, consistently with faith, hesitate to accept anything on any subject that our Lord meant to teach us.”<sup>2</sup> The question therefore comes to this, what our Lord meant to teach, and how far we can make sure of the meaning we ascribe to Him. How far this will carry us must be settled by examining the instances in which His recorded teaching seems to bear on this class of topics. The present writer must say that he agrees with Mr Gore in the reasons he adduces for thinking that in general our Lord did not mean to decide questions of authorship and literary character, and in many of the general views by which Mr Gore explains our Lord’s modes of expression. He agrees with Mr Gore also in holding that our Lord did emphatically mean to teach the Divine peculiarity and authority of the Old Testament, and that whatever He meant to teach is conclusive.

One debated instance (our Lord’s allusion to the 110th Psalm) was explained by Mr Gore in *Lux Mundi* in a way which called out a good deal of criticism. As there given, the explanation appeared to the present writer more ingenious than solid or satisfactory. Mr Gore returns to this subject (p. 196). As he now puts his case it may stand, we think, as a fairly possible theory, entitled to be respectfully considered. Space does not allow us to discuss it farther.

The matters now referred to, however important, have only an indirect and inferential relation to the doctrine of the Incarnation, and they occupy a small place in this volume. We turn to Mr Gore’s treatment of his main subject. Here something might be said of the view he gives of the history of the doctrine. Reserving that point until we speak of the function he ascribes to the Church, we advert for a moment to his exposition of the doctrine itself. This proceeds, as was to be expected, on the lines laid down in the great decisions of the fourth and following centuries ; for these carry out in the main, as Mr Gore argues, the thought of the true Godhead, the true manhood, and the personal identity in both natures, of the Son of God. Beyond urging this view of the Catholic decisions, Mr Gore does not dwell much upon their terms and definitions. His conception of the doctrine comes out mainly in the fifth and sixth lectures,—God revealed in Christ, and Man revealed in Christ. In the latter he takes up the question, which is the centre of the mystery, how we are to conceive

<sup>1</sup> P. 195.<sup>2</sup> P. 196.

a divine Person assuming human nature, or rather what conditions of thought and will we are to ascribe to him whom we own to be thus incarnate. Mr Gore complains, very justly, of the *a priori* style in which this point is often dealt with and disposed of. For himself, Mr Gore manifests, as he usually does, a fine, devout sagacity in singling out the main interests which are to guide his thinking, as well as a consciousness of the dangers mainly to be avoided. He sees that the truth of the manhood has often been prejudiced by the line of thought adopted in dogmatic writings; and he is aware that the grace of the Incarnation can be guarded in our thinking only by a delicate care to do full right to the manhood in its wonderful union to the Godhead. So also he shows a wise caution as to dogmatising about the divine nature, though he does find it needful, in explaining his thought, to lay down a principle of self-limitation, under the influence of sympathy, as the mode of the divine action in assuming humanity. Speaking generally, his reverential thoughtfulness, which is courageous as well as reverential, supplies a wholesome model and a safe guide. But then you look in vain for any estimate of the theological alternatives which have been put forth on this subject in the various schools of pious thought. The Jesuit de Lugo is adduced, indeed, to serve as a warning. But the ancient leanings of the east and of the west—the Lutheran effort to vivify the Church's thought upon the point, with its resolute contradiction from the Reformed side—the Kenotic theories of later writers—these are not named, far less are they appraised. We have not even the reasons given for thinking, as perhaps Mr Gore may think, that these, or some of them, go beyond the line at which discussion is possible or useful. Surely this is to undervalue too much the efforts of generations of thoughtful and prayerful men. If Mr Gore considers those labourers to be imperfect and mistaken, still the only possible progress on these matters, for the Church as a whole, is in the way of wisely profiting by one another's imperfections and mistakes. We should have learned to apprehend more clearly Mr Gore's own thought, if we could learn something of the attitude he takes towards the known ways of thinking of older schools.

Mr Gore starts from the recognition of "phenomena of our Lord's life, leading us to the conclusion that up to the time of his death he lived and taught, he thought and was inspired and was tempted, as true and proper man, under the limitations of consciousness which alone make possible a really human experience" (p. 150). He then inquires what conception of the Incarnation will comport with this. He is persuaded, so we understand him, that the Son carries with Him into the incarnation some mode or measure of the Divine consciousness, so that out of it, out of this mode or measure, the Son

of Man sometimes (or in some degree) acts and speaks. "The Son of God received, as eternally, so in the days of His flesh, the consciousness of His own and His Father's being, and the power to reveal that which He knew." But this consciousness could only have been in a mode or measure, under limitations, for reasons already referred to. And this is to be explained as voluntary self-limitation, upon a principle of sympathy. So we are to understand that "He emptied himself" (Phil. ii. 5-11). Thus we are to take it that in order to true human experience, "the Eternal Son so far restrained the natural action of the divine being as, in St Cyril's phrase, 'to suffer the measures of our manhood to prevail over him.'"

We confess to a reluctance to criticise any thoughts on this high subject put forth by a learned and good man, who visibly desires not to be wise above what is written. We confess also to a great unwillingness, or rather a conscious incompetence, to theorise on the behaviour, and, as it were, the experience of the divine nature in the Son of God, when, in becoming man, He emptied Himself, and became poor. On this we prefer to be silent. But the side of the great mystery which lies next to us is more accessible to our thoughts and words. Apparently Mr Gore holds that our blessed Lord, in His humiliation on the earth, spoke and acted from a mixed consciousness—partly the proper consciousness of Godhead, and partly the human one—the one being limited to allow some play to the other. It may be so: but we cannot say it is a position which seems to us to furnish much help.

We will venture to put this question:—There is evidence enough that our Lord's human speech and action proceeded from One who was never less or other than the Eternal Son of God. But is there evidence that His human speech and action proceeded from any *immediate principle* other than a human consciousness—that is, from human faculties or capacities; this human nature, in the fullness of the spirit, being participant of all knowledge of His own and His Father's being that befitted His person and work, yet participant always in a manner proper to human nature? Was not this the condescension of the Son of God, to live and act so? Meanwhile, that His Divine Nature was fitly concerned in the whole manifestation is the very substance of our faith. But are we qualified or called to say how?

For example, if Mr Gore speaks of the Son of God "receiving the consciousness of His own and His Father's being," may we not as fitly say, that the human soul, replenished by the Spirit, was participant of the consciousness of His own and His Father's being? But when we say so, we speak of the arising of a *human* consciousness, under the conditions of human thought and feeling. And it

may be we ought to think of this not as inherently possessed in virtue of the incarnation, but as imparted.

These questions are not intended to recommend any theory, but to suggest the caution with which every theory should be approached. In so far, however, as Mr Gore aims at guarding the reality of our Lord's human experience in connection with Catholic teaching, he has, we are persuaded, done a very valuable service.

In the seventh lecture Mr Gore considers Christ as the source of authority for Christians. Here he speaks to excellent purpose of the method in which Christ is found to have exercised His authority—a method described as the paternal as opposed to the despotic. When he goes on to consider the channels through which Christ's authority now reaches us, he finds these to be the Bible and the Church. It may be not unfit in this connection to notice the place given to the Church throughout this volume.

As a convinced High Churchman, Mr Gore cherishes a lofty sense of the place and functions of the visible Church—that one conspicuous society which was to administer Christianity to the world's end. He is not conscious of sacrificing any of the essentials of the usual theory on that point. Yet on this as on other heads, a certain tempered and qualified tone is noticeable, as if he were silently making room for facts of history and of experience to which they must be accommodated.

The functions allotted to the Church in defining doctrine, though represented as important, he describes with studious moderation, as after all negative rather than positive:—they are meant to show rather what the truth is not than what it is. And these definitions are recognised almost as necessary evils, instead of being in themselves desirable acquisitions. So, also, the teaching office of the Church is set forth in general as highly authoritative; but the aspects in which it is presented in detail tend strongly to suggest the ordinary experience of human tradition with its fluctuations and its reforms. Mr Gore may know best how to defend the ground; but many members of his school would accentuate their distinctive positions more vigorously than he does. We are more interested, however, in the points to which this remark does *not* apply.

Mr Gore devotes a lecture (the fourth) to this point, that the definitions of the Councils merely guard and explain the original faith. As the peculiarity of the Person of Christ was essential and central to the Apostolic teaching and to the faith of the earliest disciples, so the ecclesiastical doctrine built up during several hundreds of years should be taken as the same, and as in the same way essential and central. Mr Gore is going to expound the doctrine in its ecclesiastical form; and he desires to take it that what the Church has thus formulated is, and is exactly, what the Church at

first received. We agree with Mr Gore in much of what at this point he maintains. We agree with him in repudiating Dr Hatch's objections to the dogmatic effort in the Church. We agree with him, against Dr Hatch, that the germs of dogma, and the materials of it are in the Bible: that the Church had to think and could not live without thinking: that on some subjects and within certain limits she had to distinguish sharply right thinking from wrong thinking: that it is no good objection to the Church's procedure, if, in her enterprise of thinking, she made use of the very best style of thinking then known in the world, viz., the Greek. We agree with him, also, that on the subject of the Person of Christ, the Church in her main decisions was memorably true to the teaching of Scripture. And yet we think it is misleading to identify so absolutely the doctrine ecclesiastically defined, with the doctrine at first delivered by our Lord and by inspired men. For this is the very character of the Church's teaching, that while she may *rehearse* what was originally delivered—in which case she is not teaching; she is but reciting the lesson of the Great Teacher;—yet when she in turn begins to teach the doctrine, she does and must teach it as she has attained to *think* it; therefore approximately, tentatively, *not* infallibly. She relates it, as she can, to the forms and the contents of human thought, and she does so in the use of a wisdom which may be real and sincere, but is never perfect.

It is misleading to say that Bible and Church are the channels of Christ's authority, just as it would be misleading to say, the Bible and mothers. It is true that the Church teaches; and perhaps the estimate Mr Gore would make of the actual influence of that beneficent force is not so very remote from our own. The living Church through all its membership, and through its representative men, is to be continually reporting how it understands the teaching by which it lives, is to be interpreting the apostolic message into the language, relating it to the experience of the time. This teaching is a vital force which cannot be dispensed with. And the great consents as to the right way of thinking on some central questions, recorded in the history of the Church, have permanent interest and claim high regard. But this is not authoritative in the strict and proper sense. This is not an embodiment of Christ's authority. It is the embodiment of the thinking of those who are subject to His authority. They are authorised, if you will, to be about this business; and they are to expect His blessing on it in answer to prayer. But there is no absolute guarantee against error and defection any more than against sin and worldliness; least of all is such a guarantee granted to any one official organisation. Yet Christ will always maintain a Church to serve Him in the world. And, amid all particular mistakes His guidance given to His people's prayers, may be expected to be visible on the whole.



Before closing this notice a word must be said as to the value of the eighth lecture. The subject is the moral standard set up by Christ, and the motives and means which He supplies. Mr Gore dwells most impressively on the necessity of doing justice to our Lord's moral teaching, and points out the fatal facility which has been attained in explaining it away. We are convinced that this must receive, and we think it likely that ere long it will receive, more serious and resolute consideration among Christians. We do not expect the result to appear in any mechanical or conventional asceticism. But loving intelligence of Christ's words may operate in purifying, simplifying, and elevating human lives in ways we too often fail even to dream of. Not less impressive, and not less valuable, is Mr Gore's emphatic testimony to Christ in us, as the secret of life and victory. On this point, as on the former one, Mr Gore's theology leads him to make statements which we cannot approve. His explanation, for example, of the imputation to us of Christ's merits (p. 224), we must regard as a lamentable failure: not the less that it is supported by an illustration from George Eliot, and by a phrase of Augustine's severed from its context. But in whatever schemes of theological connection, let us welcome the emphatic proclamation of the vital verities. "Looking at the matter not historically or speculatively, but personally, what is it for me to be a Christian? It is to know my spiritual life is not an isolated thing, drawing simply upon its own resources. God the Holy Spirit . . . dwells within the temple of my body; and by dwelling there He links my life on to the great system of redeemed humanity. . . . And every temptation, every need, every suffering, every disappointment, is meant to drive me more inward and upward, to realize and to draw upon the hidden resources of my new life—which is 'Christ in me the hope of glory.'" "The doctrine of the inward Christ is a doctrine of which the New Testament is full. Mystical as it is, it has been ridiculed, as fit only for enthusiasts, in a rationalistic age such as the last century; but every revival of vital Christianity brings it to the front again, and roots it anew in the consciousness of serious and devout Christians, though they be plain men and unimpassioned." "We contemplate the pattern of life which stands for ever before our eyes in the pages of the Gospels: and we know that the moral forces which were at work in that life, to exempt it from sin, to overcome Satan, to win the flawless moral victory, are all, without exception and without deterioration, at work to-day. For His Spirit is made our spirit: His life is poured into ours. We look at Him in history to know what we must become: we draw upon His present Spirit in order to its realisation" (pp. 220-224).

**Anthropological Religion.**

*The Gifford Lectures, delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1891, by F. Max Müller, K.M. London: Longmans, Green & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 464. Price 10s. 6d.*

THE third course of Professor Max Müller's Gifford Lectures, contained in this volume, deals with the history of religious ideas concerning the human soul, its future state, and its relations to the Divinity, with the origin and development of ancestor-worship, and those cognate branches of the study of comparative religion, to which he proposes to apply the categoric title of Anthropological Religion.

In these lectures, as in the preceding courses, the author endeavours to trace the stages, pre-historic and historic, whereby the various systems of religions thought have been evolved as products of man's unaided reason in the course of the progress of the race. But, in his view, the God whom man has sought out for himself has never directly revealed His will to man; nor has He, except in the ordinary process of Nature, directly interposed in human affairs. Those records in the past history of the world concerning divine miracles are only the outcome of imperfect comprehension and imperfect expression of natural phenomena, inevitable excrescences in the accounts of human spiritual progress due to human fallibility. Christ is regarded as one of a series of men who, being superior to their fellows in intellect and moral sense, and having acquired a clear insight into the relations of God to man, became on that account the teachers of humanity. Among these leaders of thought Professor Müller gives Christ the first place, His teaching and system being better in degree than, but not different in kind from, the teachings of His fellow-reformers, Buddha or Mohammed; but he accounts the mystery of the Incarnation, as taught in Christian books, as worthy of little regard. The so-called resurrection was the misunderstood expression of the fervent imagination of His followers, whereby they only meant to convey the eternal life of the soul, and the ascension of Christ is a sublime idea materialised in the language of children.

Having formulated these propositions, and others of a like kind in his lectures, he expresses himself with surprise in his preface that he could not have believed it possible that he should have exposed himself to attacks from theologians who profess and call themselves Christians. It would surely have been more surprising if the lectures had been allowed to pass without animadversion, as being opposed to beliefs which the most of professing Christians hold dear.

Of the thirteen lectures in the volume, the first and second are prefatory pleas for freedom of religious discussion and for toleration.

The third and fourth contain a summary of the results of physical religion as set forth in the previous course, and a survey of the history of the doctrine of belief in a God. In the subsequent lectures, the stages are traced whereby man discovered the existence of his soul; and the bearing of this discovery upon funeral customs and upon ancestor worship is set forth. Finally, we are led to the inquiry as to the element of truth contained in this form of worship, which is defined as being the recognition of the divine in man; and this recognition is believed by him to constitute the philosophical basis of Christianity.

The subjects treated in the prefatory lectures do not call for much comment. Happily the time is gone by when it was possible to restrict religious discussion by the exercise of ecclesiastical authority, and very few persons of education and culture hold that the honest discussion of opinions on religious matters should be subjected to any limitation.

It is also generally recognised that it is the duty of reasonable men to show a liberal spirit of toleration towards those who hold views different from theirs. As long as human faculties are unequal and imperfect, so long must there be in the world a want of capacity of seeing eye to eye in matters of faith. The churches for the most part admit this, and have ceased to exact the expression of precise uniformity of opinion from their members. But while this liberty is our right, it is self-evident that if there is to be any degree of unity in a church, there must be some limit to this divergence of belief on the part of its members in matters fundamental. Professor Max Müller would carry the principle of toleration in his ideal church so far as to eliminate all dogmatic articles from its creed.

In his former course of lectures, the author taught that all ideas of the super-material had their origin in the principle of causality, that fundamental condition of thought and therefore of language which requires man to postulate a cause for every effect. The earliest words were significant of actions, and the earliest names of things indicated that the objects named were regarded as agents. But the primitive ideas of agency were derived from observations of human actions, and by a natural mental process other actions, not obviously dependent on human agency, were supposed to be the products of unseen active causes of a similar kind.

Many students of Anthropology consider that primitive man did not at first clearly discriminate between the living and the non-living agents in Nature. They think that as soon as he recognised that motion was a quality possessed by himself during life, he predicated a like dependence of motion in other objects on some kind of life within them. Professor Max Müller repudiates this doctrine of Animism as an insult to human understanding, but the ground of his

objection is largely dependent on the meanings attached to the terms—especially on the extension which is given to the term *anima*. He contends that before an *anima* is attributed to any object, there must be some concept of the nature of an *anima*. But in all probability that concept was first arrived at as a vague generalisation from the man's own powers, from the self-consciousness which every reasoning man, however uncultured, possesses, even although he may not be able to formulate the concept. It is scarcely possible to draw a hard line of discrimination between the stage of mental activity in which the first rudimentary idea of causation was awakened, and the later definite belief in the existence of an inhabiting soul in Nature. The further development of Animism into Fetichism, or the belief that these causal forces are the souls of the dead, is doubtless a later and corrupt derivative of the earlier and simpler belief.

The digression on page 80 as to the etymology of Zeus is interesting, and the Professor in a vigorous and trenchant manner effectually disposes of those guilty of the heresy of believing in the existence of any relationship between the name of the god and the verb  $\xi\hat{\eta}\nu$ .

Having endeavoured to show that the growth of the idea of a cause behind the phenomena of Nature is a necessary process of human thought, it is but a step to prove that the belief in a God, to which this leads, is inevitable, and therefore universal. The first concepts were presumably crude, limited, and anthropomorphic, but Professor Max Müller considers that the history of the development of religion has been a history of the successive rejection of all the predicates which have been bestowed by man on the Infinite, leading eventually to the only perfect religion, true Agnosticism. He uses this word in a sense different from that which it conveys in the current literature of the day, not as implying that we cannot be certain of the existence of God, and in some sense of our relationship to Him, but rather in the sense that we cannot, by searching, find out the Almighty unto perfection.

This discovery of God by man could not take place without the correlative discovery of the existence of something within ourselves which caused the phenomena of our consciousness, a something to which we may give the name *soul*. A study of the words used in different early languages to express the idea of soul, gives us some clue to the primitive form of the concept. This line of research is discussed in a most interesting manner in Lectures VII. and VIII. It is hard to say whether or not it may be within the bounds of possibility that we shall ever gain any knowledge of the psychology of man in the primeval period of his existence on the earth. It is true that we have had hitherto no materials upon which to found even conjecture, but although Professor Max Müller speaks dog-

matically on the subject, and tells us that we shall never know what he may have been, yet much more extensive knowledge of early man than we have at present may be brought within our reach in the progress of research. It is strange that one who is so consistent and acute in his studies in the evolution of language should yet discredit the evolution of humanity; and although he is so zealous in the elimination of the element of miracle from all religious systems, yet he speaks as a believer in the special miraculous creation of the human race. That language is a great store-house of the archaic in human thought, is a proposition from which few will dissent, but that it is our only source from which to learn of the thoughts and feelings of early man is not strictly accurate. Weapons, pottery, chipped flints, hearth-stones, burnt bones, mode of sepulture, ornaments, and clothing, are all equally true and suggestive vestiges of primitive intelligent man.

The study of the views of ancient races, and of present-day savages in relation to the soul naturally leads to the consideration of the opinions which they have held as to the condition to which death brings humanity. In this connection Professor Müller regards the continuance towards the dead of the feelings entertained concerning them by the living as the germ of ancestor worship. His theory of the genesis of the first ideas of God, naturally preclude his accepting the deification of ancestors as anything but a secondary mode whereby the Pantheon has been peopled, but he regards it as an important secondary source of divinities, and his discussion of the true character of ancestor worship is of considerable interest. In connection with it there are many paragraphs worthy of careful perusal, containing his views on Fetichism, Totemism, Hallucinations, Shadows, and Dreams, as being primitive originating ideas of religious systems. That in the main he takes just views on these subjects one cannot doubt, although the reader cannot help entertaining a lurking belief that he is occasionally a little too sweeping in his generalisations.

Professor Max Müller carries with him the sympathies of all interested in Anthropology in his remarks on the untrustworthiness of much of the descriptive matter given in the text books with regard to the religions of the world, especially of those systems which have not been defined by becoming embodied in a literature of standard sacred books. The demands as to the qualifications of those who collect and record anthropological phenomena, which he sets out in the chapter, are very moderate—that no evidence be received as trustworthy except that of one who has been an eye-witness of what he attests, that the witness be a credible and unprejudiced one, and that he be conversant with the language of the race he

observes, and one who has checked his own observations by conference with the people of whom he speaks.

The instances adduced in connection with these points, of the religious views of the Andamanese, of the Australians, and of the worshippers of the goddess Kālī, are exceedingly apt cases in point, and well worthy of study.

One other observation of Professor Max Müller's is deserving of note in this connection. It is believed by many that the savage man of the present day is the antitype of primitive man, but the arguments in favour of this opinion are not conclusive, and there is some reason to believe that the races whom we call the lowest savages are the results rather of centuries of corruption and degeneracy than the survivals of a primitive state of human life.

In the discussion of funeral customs as bearing upon beliefs in regard to the state of the dead, some of the most suggestive are those in which weapons, food, clothing, or ornaments are either burned or buried with the body of the dead. This wide-spread practice we have reason to believe prevailed in our own country among our long-headed predecessors of the neolithic age, and it is generally interpreted as being due to the belief that the dead, in what state soever they may be, remained creatures of like habits and passions with their former selves, and were in some occult way able to take advantage of the funeral materials supplied for their use. From this explanation Professor Müller dissents, as he believes that the placing of these articles in the grave originated in a mere impulse, an unreasoning act, and that the belief in the utility of these offerings was of later growth. He has not, however, given us any reason or evidence in favour of his view, and certainly all that we know of the testimony of savage man at the present day is in the direction of the older theory.

Correlated with the belief in the continuance of active existence after death, the question naturally arises, Do the actions of this life affect the future state of the soul? Here, intelligent man in his earliest religious utterances has pronounced with almost unanimous voice that there are to be in the future state rewards or punishments for the deeds of this life. The view embodied in the Vedic phrase, *Karma na kshîyate*, "a deed does not perish," was enunciated two thousand years earlier by Ptahhotep, and had its embodiment in the scenes of the psychostasis.

In the final summing up as to the tendencies of Anthropological religion as here defined, Professor Max Müller gives us some of his own views as to the existence and relations of the soul. He cannot bring himself to believe that the soul has had a beginning, and thinks that it must have existed before. "Our soul on awakening here is not quite a stranger to itself, and the souls who, as our parents, our

wives, and husbands, our children and our friends, have greeted us first as strangers in this life, but have become to us as if we had known them for ever, and as if we could never lose them again. That which constitutes the true self, the looker on, the witness within us, which cannot die nor expire because it has never breathed, that is the Infinite in man which philosophers have been groping for, though he is not far from every one of us." It is the divine or God-like in man.

In the last chapter the bearings of this discovery of the divine in man is brought as a key to unlock some of the problems which press upon us in life. The question is discussed how far the idea of immortality was appreciated in former dispensations, and Professor Max Müller's views are interesting in connection with the recent controversies on the beliefs of the Jews on this matter. He is of opinion that there was among the Jews, for the most part, a belief in existence beyond the grave, and in the bestowal of future rewards and punishments, but he thinks that what he calls true immortality, the communion of the soul with God, was beyond the horizon of the Jewish mind. Christianity, in so far as it is a revelation of man's sonship to God, came as a reaction against the Sadduceism of the later period of Jewish history.

The curious blend of Agnosticism and Christianity set forth in the last lecture is a religious system with a new phraseology. In it the divinity of Christ is no mystery, but was the self-knowledge possessed by Him in a higher measure than by any of his predecessors, that man was the son of God. This process whereby the divine sonship is realised, and which Professor Müller characterises as the taking back of the human into the divine, he calls *anatheosis*. The second birth consists in the realisation that we are thus the children of God; but this recognition is one which is self-originated, and not like the regeneration promised by Christ, which is a divine gift.

This Neo-Christianity lacks the great central power of the real Christianity, the personal living Christ, the divine Saviour of men. In place of the bread of the real Son of God incarnate, crucified and risen, it gives us the stone of a sham Christ, one of a cycle of human reformers. In place of the certainty of a divine revelation from God to man, we get the aspirations of man toward God, with no other guarantee of their trustworthiness than that furnished by the wide spread of the belief in them; whose expression is a *vox populi*, and is therefore presumed to be a *vox Dei*.

ALEXANDER MACALISTER.

**Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and  
Patristic Literature.**

*Edited by J. Armitage Robinson, B.D., Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. Vol. II., No. 1. A Study of Codex Bezae, by J. Rendel Harris, M.A. Cambridge University Press. 8vo, pp. viii. 272. Price 7s. 6d. net.*

**The Codex Sangallensis ( $\Delta$ ); A Study in the Text of the  
Old Latin Gospels.**

*By J. Rendel Harris, formerly Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge, and now Professor of Biblical Languages and Literature in Haverford College, Pennsylvania. London: C. J. Clay & Sons. 1891. Royal 8vo, pp. viii. 56. Price 3s.*

PROFESSOR HARRIS opens his "Study of Codex Bezae" with a very interesting description of the qualities and qualifications which must underlie successful investigation into the tangled problems of New Testament textual history.

"There must be a wide acquaintance with languages if we are to understand the bearing of the Versions upon the restoration of the text, and give their evidence the right weight; there must be a keen Semitic feeling which is able to distinguish the Syriasm imported by a translator from that which belongs to the primitive apostolic idiom, or to restore the latter against editorial refinement; there must be a close study of the palaeography of the scripts which are involved in the problem; and this study must farther be balanced by an acquaintance with the laws of phonetic change, so that we may not refer rare forms, when we meet with them, to mere accident or to the negligence of the scribes. And in the grouping of the evidence, and the estimation of the relative value of the possible solutions of the problem, a quick imagination must be side by side with a subtle reasoning power on the judgment seat."

He supposes it too much to expect that "all these forms of fitness for critical work should be found in one person." Another may be permitted to record his distinct impression that they all may be found in Professor Harris himself, than whom no one in this generation has consecrated a greater enthusiasm, a more acute scholarship, or more sparkling talents, to the textual criticism of the New Testament. Nor will the reader of these two brilliant monographs on Græco-Latin texts fail to note that they all have been in use in their preparation. Such work as this not only continues the prestige of English scholarship in this field where it has always held a first place, but opens new vistas for Biblical



learning in general. For their proper estimation, it is no doubt necessary to bear in mind the nature of these tractates as "studies." In them, their author does "not pretend to have done more than touch the outside edge of a great subject" ( $\Delta$ , p. 6). It will be easy to say of them that they raise more questions than they answer. This is their merit. They find the problems, define them, advance somewhat their solution, and leave us in better position to estimate properly the nature both of the problems themselves that face us, and of the facts which must enter into their explanation. A few more such "studies," and it may become possible to write the history of the transmission of the New Testament with some exactness.

Primarily, these "studies" are bodies of prolegomena to the two codices with which they deal; or rather, to be exact, they give us, the one a tolerably complete body of prolegomena to Codex Bezae, and the other certain very important contributions towards prolegomena for Codex Sangallensis. Looked at from this point of view, they are above praise. Never have the phenomena of a New Testament MS. been subjected to a more painstaking or a more illuminating scrutiny than is here given to Codex D. The result is astonishing. The MS. which has been declared to "set criticism at defiance," is here seized in the grasp of a criticism which squeezes from it its secrets. We are put in a fair way to know more of this "sphinx among the manuscripts," than of the simplest and clearest of all the transcripts of the Greek text. Nothing in the Codex is too small to attract Professor Harris's attention, or too unimportant to be made to bear testimony to the history of the manuscript. Thus, a series of barbarous notes on the lower margin, of which Dr Scrivener could make nothing, are shown (D., pp. 7 *seq.*) to belong to a system of "*sortes sanctorum*"; and a comparison of them with similar marginalia in  $g^1$  suggests some conclusions as to the whereabouts of D in the tenth century. So the observation of certain peculiarities of the spelling of the MS. (D. pp. 16 *seq.*) such as  $\Lambda\Omega\text{N}$  for  $\Lambda\text{ET}\Omega\text{N}$ ,  $\Lambda\text{ON}$  for  $\Lambda\text{OFON}$ ,  $\Lambda\text{EIC}$  for  $\Lambda\text{EFEIC}$  in the Greek, and  $\text{NEGLENTES}$  for  $\text{NEGLIGENTES}$ , in the Latin, points to Gallic peculiarities of pronunciation parallel to the process by which Lugdunum became in French Lyons; Burdigalium, Bordeaux; Augustodonum, Autun; and suggests that the manuscript may have been written in Gaul about the sixth century. Again, as the colometry of the MS. is studied, a bright flash of that genius, which really means the action of an alert mind stored with the results of previous studies, suggests that in the line-divisions of Luke xiii. 29, 30, an explanation may be found for a singular reading in the "Acta Perpetuæ" (D., p. 149). There the angels are made to cry of the elect brought

from the four winds of heaven, "Ecce sunt, ecce sunt: cum admiratione." This singular greeting evidently arose from taking the end of the line for the end of the sense, as the passage stands in D, thus:—

"ET VENIENT AB ORIENTE ET OCCIDENTEM  
ET AB AQUILONE ET AUSTRO ET RECUMBUNT  
IN REGNO DEI ET ECCE SUNT  
NOVISSIMI QUI ERUNT PRIMI ET SUNT  
PRIMI QUI ERUNT NOVISSIMI."

Thus arises an irrefragable proof of the early date both of the text and the colometry of D.

The best work of these volumes is given to the study of the Latin texts. We do not know if the Latinity of Codex Bezae has ever been subjected to such careful or to such fruitful investigation. Numerous peculiarities, which might well escape the notice of a less instructed eye as mere careless blunders of the scribe, are traced back to vulgar or antique Latin forms or usages; and thus the book becomes a contribution of no mean freshness to Latin and Romance philology. By the same investigation much also has been done, of course, towards working out the history of the MS.; and much also, we may add, towards working out the history of the Old Latin version. Professor Harris appears to us to have distinctly added to the probability, already strong, that the various Latin texts all go back to one version, and, we think, also, he has added to the probability that the version originated in North Africa. Thus he has advanced the solution of one of the most difficult problems in criticism. He thinks the original Old Latin version was the first line-for-line translation of the Greek text, and looks upon the Latin of *d* as its best and most unaltered extant representative. The evidence which he offers for this is striking—Professor Harris never offers any other kind—but the question must rest meanwhile *sub judice*. He seems to have made it clear, at least, that *d* is not fundamentally a translation of its own Greek, independent of other Old Latin texts (as Dr Scrivener, for example, held), and that its text is very old. The study of Codex Sangallensis is less thorough, though Professor Harris's fear lest an apology is needed for publishing it is certainly unjustified. It, too, is largely devoted to the study of the Latin text, and, through it, of the history of the Latin version. Professor Harris's main contention we regard as made out—that *δ* is not a Vulgate text, but a combination of two Old Latin texts, one of which—probably not the base—was very near to *d*, as the table on pp. 15-17 suggests. The greater part of the volume is occupied with registering and studying the large number of double or alternative renderings

which  $\delta$  presents in its effort to preserve the translations of both its originals. Acute investigations of the Africanisms of the Codex, and attempts to determine the more original rendering of the alternatives, give life to the lists.

One would think that it is surely enough to register all this to the account of two small volumes of studies of two Græco-Latin texts. But Professor Harris has not been content to write brilliant prolegomena to his texts, or even to investigate the philological and literary history of the Old Latin Version by their aid. "The object of this tract," he writes at the opening of the "Study of Codex Bezae," "is to supply the workers with some fresh suggestions as to the handling of the central problem of the criticism of the New Testament, viz., the origin and meaning of the so-called Western text." An earnest attempt to solve this problem is a great undertaking; while to have really tracked that vast mass of "Western" composition to its origin, and given a satisfactory account of its rise and growth, would be indeed an epoch-making performance. The most prominent fact concerning the "Western" text (so-called purely conventionally) is its very early, very widespread distribution. Especially has it always called for notice that the earliest versions are deeply stained with its peculiarities. In particular, those two venerable monuments of the New Testament which nourished the spiritual life of the two ends of the earth, Syria and North Africa, are at the same time monuments of the "Western" text. The problem is, so to account for the origin of the demonstrably most corrupt text as to account by some likely hypothesis also for its very early broad distribution, and, in particular, for its presence, already fully developed, in the early part of the second century, in both North Africa and Syria. Both of the most natural hypotheses, that it originated in Syria or that it originated in North Africa, have, of course, received the support of theorists. Professor Harris has sought to subject the likelihood of each to careful investigation. In his admirable study of Tatian's Diatessaron, published two years ago,<sup>1</sup> he was evidently carrying in his mind the possibility that Tatian's Harmony might be the root out of which this upas-tree grew, and testing this hypothesis from step to step. That line of investigation, however, proved wholly unfruitful (D., p. 186). In the present volume he seeks to test the opposite conjecture, and here he meets with more satisfaction. He expresses the result in the stirring words: "And now we have at last succeeded in tracking the Western corruptions to their origin." His reading of the problem is, that practically the whole body of "Western" readings ("nine-tenths,"

<sup>1</sup> *The Diatessaron of Tatian, a Preliminary Study.* By J. Rendel Harris. Cambridge University Press, 1890. 8vo, pp. 68.

he says, p. 203), have arisen from the Old Latin Version, from which first an accompanying Greek text has been "thoroughly and persistently Latinised" (p. 107), and, then this Latinised text spread from Rome as a literary centre over the world. "The conclusion to which we are led," he writes (p. 177), "is an astonishing one: the hydra-headed Western text has been resolved into a single form; that form is the primitive Western bilingual; its apparently Eastern character is a delusion, for the Old Syriac texts lean on a Graeco-Latin, and perhaps simply on a Latin base. That the Sahidic version, and other Egyptian attestation, sometimes complicates the question by an apparently greater geographical distribution than would seem to be possible for truly Occidental readings, is an illusion arising from the fact of our ignorance that the Sahidic version demonstrably has stolen Latin readings." The theory is certainly an attractive one of great verisimilitude in itself; and Professor Harris has spared no pains or ingenuity in working it out and illustrating it in detail.

The hinge on which the whole matter turns, is, of course, the fundamental question as to the systematic Latinisation of the Greek text of D and its textual compeers. That a very complete assimilation has taken place in the adjustment of the Latin and Greek texts of Codex Bezae to one another is obvious, and has always been recognised. But although the charge of Latinisation has been repeatedly brought against the Greek, modern opinion has settled down to accounting for the assimilation by the Graecising of the Latin version. In reopening the question under Professor Harris' guidance, it is clear that, for fruitful results, we must carefully distinguish between three several inquiries:—(1), Whether and to what extent the hand of a Latin-speaking scribe has left traces of itself in the writing of the Greek of this Codex; (2), Whether and to what extent the Greek text has been corrupted from its parallel Latin text; and (3), Whether and to what extent corruptions arising from one or the other of these causes can be traced in other documents, which may be thus proved to share in corruptions arising on Latin ground or from a Latin version.

That the Greek text of D shews signs of having been written by a Latin-speaking scribe, and has to this extent been Latinised, has always been recognised. Some of the corruptions thus introduced, such as the insertion of Latin letters into the Greek text, and the intrusion into the Greek here and there of Latin forms and terminations, are enumerated, for example, by Dr Scrivener<sup>2</sup> in his *Prolegomena*. These are, of course, recognised by Professor Harris (D., p. 46), as the "natural accidents of the case." To what extent this

<sup>2</sup> *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co., 1864) p. xxx.

cause will account for apparent Latinisations, students will differ much in judging. To us it seems to account for many instances which Professor Harris might prefer to assign to other causes. It is certainly the account to give of the intrusion of Gallic faults of pronunciation into the spelling of the Greek text, examples of which have been already quoted; and having been allowed as a *vera causa*, much may be properly attributed to it (on the principle of parsimony, if for no other reason), which, in other circumstances, might be thought to require other suppositions to account for it.

The fact thus brought to our memory, that given corruptions may often with almost equal plausibility be attributed to any of several origins, greatly embarrasses us when we come to ask whether there is any convincing evidence that the Greek text of D has been corrupted from its parallel Latin. Professor Harris presents a great body of evidence, most ably gathered and marshalled. But we find ourselves reading this most interesting, and, in any case, most instructive mass of material, with much wavering of mind. One after another, we set the alleged instances aside as not conclusive,—as such as might indeed mean Latinisation as Professor Harris explains them, but need not do so. Other explanations occur to us as equally likely, or even more likely. We ultimately find ourselves scanning the lists narrowly to discover whether there are any instances which pretty clearly point to Latinisation as their cause. Many which Professor Harris considers certainly such do not strike us so. We are afraid that we do not lay the stress of proof in this relation which he does, even on his ingenious discovery of a Latin Hexameter verse in the gloss to Luke xxiii. 53 (p. 47). We are greatly instructed by his comparison of Homeric parallels; we think he has ferreted out its source in the Homeric Centones, and we await with eagerness his half-promised study of these curious collections and their influence on early Christian literature. But we deem it not impossible that the Latin translator of Codex Bezae's text—just on account of his familiarity with the Centones (p. 236)—may have restored a metrical feature to the allusions which he recognised as surviving the ruined metre in the Greek; while the differences in the translations found in *d*, *c*, and the Thebaic version (as, *e.g.*, in their varied renderings of the genitive absolute) seem to render it likely that they all were translating from the Greek, and from this Greek. But we cannot go into detail. Suffice it to say that the instances are not numerous in which we feel justified in calling in the hypothesis of Latinisation to account for the corruption. Nevertheless such instances do seem to exist. Mark viii. 2, last clause (pp. 58 and 89), is one of these. Here what Professor Harris calls the fearful Greek of D, *οτι ηδη ημεραι τρις εισιν απο ποτε ωδε εισιν*, seems best

accounted for as an attempt to render back into Greek the Latin by its side: *quoniam iam triduum est; ex quo hic sunt*. Mark ix. 34 (p. 58) seems another, and, we may add, a characteristic case. Here the Latin expansion of *τίς μείζων* into *quis esse illorum major*, seems to have been taken back into the Greek to produce the Bezan, *τις μίξων γεννηται αυτων*. In Mark iv. 36 (p. 69) *αλλα πλοιαι* may have been written instead of *αλλα πλοῖα*, under the influence of the Latin, *aliae naves multae*. In Luke xxii. 12 (p. 80), it seems quite possible that the *οικον* has come in from the Latin, *superiorem domum*. In the blundering repetition of the first two clauses in the middle of John xvii. 11 (p. 65), we read at the end of the Greek, *και εν τω κοσμω ειμι*, corresponding to the Latin, *et in mundo sum*, where "sum" is for "sunt," in accordance with a phonetic interchange of *m* and *nt*, investigated by Professor Harris (p. 121). It looks as if the Greek *ειμι* has arisen by correction from this misunderstood "sum" = "sunt." If these instances be allowed, it would be only fair to allow the same cause to have been probably at work in certain similar but less clear cases, such as—*e.g.*, in John xvii. 25 (p. 67); Mark v. 18 (p. 78); viii. 25 (p. 79); xiv. 72 (p. 79); Matt. xi. 22 (p. 84); Acts ii. 6 (p. 85); Matt. xv. 11 (p. 85); xviii. 22 (p. 96); Mark x. 12 (p. 101); xiv. 1 (p. 102); Luke xxii. 7 (p. 102); Mark xvi. 11 (p. 103). The great body of the instances adduced, however, we have felt constrained to look upon as instances rather of consent of the Latin with the Greek, than of corruption of the latter to the former. But, although we cannot see our way clear to adopt Professor Harris's conclusion that "the whole of the Greek text of Codex Bezae, from the beginning of Matthew to the end of Acts, is a readjustment of an earlier text to the Latin version" (p. 41), we think he has proved that in the transmission of the Graeco-Latin texts there has been an interaction of the Greek and Latin, by which not only has the Latin been adjusted to the Greek, but also occasionally the Greek to the Latin. Now that Professor Harris has proved this, we perceive, indeed, that it was to be expected in the nature of the case. The opinion which he has formed as to the extent of this Latinisation seems to us, indeed, extreme: to say "that the Latin is rarely, if ever, an accommodation to its conjugate Greek, while, on the other hand, the Greek is almost always accommodated to the Latin" ( $\Delta$ , p. 1), seems almost to forget not only the fact which is immediately afterwards (p. 3) spoken of as "admitted," that in an interlinear text (which he supposes the ancestry of D to have been) the Latin is adjusted to the order of words of the Greek, but even the fundamental fact that the Latin is originally a translation of the Greek. We must still believe that the Greek of Codex Bezae, in all its essential peculiarities,

antedated its Latin, and is its original. But we are led to understand that in the nicer adjustment of the Greek and Latin texts, in interlinear and parallel texts, in which line-lengths, word-order, and word-numbers, and the like, were, and ought to be, brought into exact correspondence, now and then the Greek has suffered corruption as well as the Latin.

With this conclusion reached, we have to deny ourselves the pleasure of finding the darkest problem of New Testament textual history solved by Professor Harris's acute investigation. The cause he has uncovered with such scholarly skill seems to have been operative in too narrow a circle of readings to serve as key to so complicated a lock. The suggestion that at least one of the odd glosses of D may have been ultimately due to reminiscence of the Homeric Centones may possibly bear fruit in explanation of others. And the proof of Latinisation in however narrow a circle of readings, may supply the student of readings with a new source for the explanation of the origin of special readings here and there. It does not appear, however, that Latinised readings gained any wide extension in the texts: we have not observed any which we could recognise with any confidence as such, of widespread attestation. If we could see our way open to allow all the instances of Latinisation which Professor Harris looks upon as such, we would need to admit, no doubt, that the total Greek transmission was affected by it. He seems, indeed, at one place to exclude B from this form of corruption: "Amongst the codices which have occasionally Latinised, will be found  $\aleph$  L  $\Delta$ , &c.; whether B has been entrapped in any cases into error is a question which must not be prejudged, and it almost requires a special and extended investigation; but it looks as if B had escaped" (p. 113). Elsewhere, however, his discovery of Latinisation includes B also (pp. 116, 118, 207, 229). But though we may not be able to adopt this opinion, it is possible for the student to look upon Latinisation as one of his resources in explaining sporadic readings.

It is odd that the widespread extension which we cannot find proved for Latinised readings, we are bound to admit that Professor Harris has made good for Syriacised ones. Syriasm, no more than Latinism, will explain the "Western" text. But Professor Harris has shown that Syriasm does occur, and must be reckoned with in the study of readings. We do not see but that the explanation which he offers (p. 178) of the reading,  $\Delta\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}$ , in Mark viii. 10, as arising from a Syriac dittograph of the equivalent of  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$ , must be accepted. His similar explanation of the intrusive  $\Sigma\alpha\mu\phi\omicron\upsilon\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu$  in the Bezan text of John xi. 54 (p. 184) seems equally irresistible. In the presence of these, we can hardly refuse to ascribe to the same source the odd

Bezan reading of Acts xiv. 27 (p. 185), where *μετα των ψυχων αυτων* takes the place of *εν αυτοις*. But *Δαλμανουθα* is read in Mark viii. 10 by nearly all extant documents, only D and some other "Western" texts escaping. Whence it seems to follow that a very rarely occurring Syriac corruption lies at the base of "Neutral" and "Alexandrian," and, indeed, of nearly the whole Greek transmission. The bearing of this on an opinion which Professor Harris broached in his "Study of Tatian's Diatessaron," to the effect that a Pre-Tatianic Syriac Passion-Harmony underlay the "Neutral" and "Alexandrian" transmission, and is the true account to give of the origin of those odd corruptions, the so-called "Western non-Interpolations," is obvious.

In the course of his discussion, Professor Harris lays great stress on traces of deliberate doctrinal depravation in the textual transmission (pp. 228, 233). We have not been able to follow him in this, whether as regards the instances he adduces of Marcionite or those of Montanistic corruptions. The only case of doctrinal depravation of the general text which seems proven beyond doubt is the asceticization of the text by introducing commands of "fasting." It is interesting to observe the opinion of so well-furnished and independent a scholar as Professor Harris on some of the most disputed readings. The reader may consult him on John i. 18 at p. 252; on Acts xx. 28 at p. 253; on Matt. xix. 17 at p. 229; on John vii. 53 *seq.* at p. 195 and *note*; and on Luke ii. 22 at p. 68.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

### The Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood of Our Lord.

*The Baird Lecture 1891, by Wm. Milligan, D.D., Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in the University of Aberdeen. London: Macmillan & Co. 1892. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii. and 374. Price 7s. 6d.*

PROFESSOR MILLIGAN has laid the theological world under obligation by completing his Croall Lecture on the "Resurrection" by this Baird Lecture on the "Ascension and Priesthood of Christ." For, common as are apologetic writings upon the Resurrection, systematic works upon either the Resurrection or the Ascension are rare. Indeed, Dorner's memorable sections in his *Glaubenslehre* on "The Continuation in Heaven of the Prophetic, Priestly, and Kingly Offices of Christ," part of Medd's Bampton Lecture on "The One Mediator," the last third of Thomasius's *Christi Person und Werk*, and Hasse's *Die Lehre des verklärten Erlösers im Himmel*, exhaust the complete surveys known to me of the life of our Lord in his *Status*



*Exaltationis.* Whilst quite equal in general thoroughness to these earlier systematic studies, Dr Milligan's presentation in some parts reaches a yet higher level, and Lecture iv. in this second Baird Lecture on the "Gift of the Spirit," seems to me as notable as Lecture v. in the Croall Lecture on "The Bearing of the Resurrection of Our Lord upon Christian Life and Hope."

There is a fulness of treatment which is not systematic, and there is a systematic treatment which is not full. Dr Milligan's method is as thorough in range as in affiliation. His thought moves on patient and undaunted,—unresting, unhasting,—careful to include and discuss all points and finer aspects of the subject as they legitimately arise, especially alert to all illumination derivable from luminous exegesis. The style, too, fits the method like a glove; it is at once clear and full and serious and stately, argumentative but not tiresome, with a certain bigbodiedness and affable dignity, not without eloquence of the massive kind.

The lectures are six in number. The first deals with the fact of the Ascension, its necessity, its difficulties, and its consequences. The second treats of the Heavenly High-priesthood as the Melchisedek high-priesthood, a knotty subject elaborated with great care and instructiveness. The third is concerned with the High-priestly Work of Presentation, Intercession, and Benediction. The fourth considers the Gift of the Spirit by the Heavenly Priest, its nature, its function, the time of its bestowal, and the recipients of the grace. The last two lectures lead us to the Church on Earth as the Sphere of the Heavenly Priesthood, this reflected priesthood being investigated as to the Life of the Church, as to her Work, to her Worship, and to her Confession. In the working out of this elaborate scheme, striking thoughts and phrases occur on almost every page.

As an instance of the timeliness and manner of these lectures, let a passage be cited, that upon the present need of the Church, pp. 225, 226—

"There is need for the divine. We have yet to see that more fully. In the meantime, let the necessity for the human occupy a moment's thought. The Incarnation has for ever sanctified and confirmed that necessity. . . . There can be no more profound mistake in religion, and there has been none more fatal, than to hope to elevate the divine by sacrificing the human. . . . No fresh schemes of benevolent exertion, added to thousands that have gone before and perished, will meet our wants. Not the world only, but the Church, is weary with the multitude of interests by which she is stimulated. Simply to increase the number of these completes the weariness, and makes men long for rest from disappointment and perplexity in the grave. We need a more inspiring view than we commonly possess of the influence of Christian truth, a more

powerful impression of the strength which Christ supplies for Christian life, a brighter and more hopeful colour to be spread over every department of Christian labour. We need to recover the buoyancy, the generosity, the passion of youth ; and we can only obtain these by becoming young again in the ever-fresh aspirations of a humanity which, from season to season, fills its branches with a new spirit of life, and clothes them with new leaves and flowers. What, in short, the Church needs is not to extinguish humanity under the pressure of a too limited conception of the divine, but to bring the two into the closest possible connection. . . . When we feel that the Spirit dwelling in us comes from One as human as He is divine, shall we have not simply 'life,' but 'life abundantly.'"

The thought, a little subtle, is as true as it is beautifully expressed. The weary Church will renew its youth as it appropriates the fact that in the Spirit of Christ there is a palingenesis, the "more life and fuller" that we want, the new birth of thought and art and practice and society with which the whole creation travails in pain.

How sympathetic and scholarly an interpretation of the New Testament underlies this whole doctrinal presentation has been more than hinted. The Epistle to the Hebrews, especially, comes in for much clear-sighted interpretation. To my mind, however, the weakness of the book is the lack of an equally sympathetic study of the Old Testament. And it seems to me that two innovations would have been withheld if the appreciation of Levitical doctrine had been more keen. According to Dr Milligan, the high-priestly office of Christ commenced at the Cross. This is one peculiarity in his results ; and, according to Dr Milligan, the true conception of the Atonement is life and not death. This is another peculiarity. Both views seem to me inconsistent with the theological teaching of the Old Testament.

"When," asks Dr Milligan (pp. 72-81), "did the priesthood of our Lord begin?" "It began," he answers, "upon the cross." In so replying, Dr Milligan refuses to speak, as theologians have spoken for fifteen hundred years, of the priesthood of Christ on earth prior to the crucifixion, and even of the priesthood of the Divine Word before His incarnation. That the Divine Word is, and ever was, priest as well as prophet and king, is negatived by this view. Curiously enough, a clear definition of priesthood is nowhere given, and what is said concerning priesthood is taken, not from the Old Testament, but from incidental references in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Now, according to the entire Old Testament, upon which, moreover, the views of the Epistle to the Hebrews are manifestly based, priesthood is mediation, the privilege of approaching Deity and at the same time representing others to whom the privilege of approach is denied. Upon such a view of priesthood

there is entire agreement amongst Biblical theologians of all schools ; and upon such a view there is a profound truth in saying that the Incarnate Logos, and even the Pre-existent Logos, is our great High Priest.

A similar fault in method has led Dr Milligan to formulate his peculiar view of the Atonement (pp. 128-149). Our Lord's atonement is His offering ; and His offering is an offering of life. "Life," he says, "not death, is the essence of atonement, is that by which sin is covered." At more length, Dr Milligan expresses his view as follows :—

"For Himself and for the members of His Body He accepted the sentence, 'The soul that sinneth it shall die.' . . . This, however, is no more than the first part of the one great step taken for us by our Heavenly High Priest. A second part followed. As the blood, or, in other words, the life, of an animal was liberated [*sic*] in death, in order that, by the sprinkling, a union might be effected between the offerer and God, so the blood, or, in other words, the life, of Christ was liberated on the Cross in order that our life in His might be united to the Father in the closest communion and fellowship. . . . A third part still remained. . . . The life thus united to God was actually surrendered to Him in a perpetual service of love and praise."

In a word, the Atonement of Christ is the continual offering to God of the life of Jesus. But surely Dr Milligan has been misled by the common but unfortunate identification of atonement and sacrifice, an identification which is never made in the Old Testament. That the risen and glorified Saviour surrenders Himself to the Father in perpetual sacrifice is a very blessed truth ; and that, one with Him in a gracious solidarity, all believers may also present acceptable sacrifice to the Father, is another very blessed truth ; but sacrifice, or offering, or presentation, whether on our Saviour's part or ours, is one thing, and atonement is another. Life, not death, is the essence of offering, truly ; but death, not life, is the essence of atonement. So the entire ritual of the Old Testament demonstrates. Offering is only permissible after atonement ; the presentation of the blood of the victim, the presentation of the surrendered life of the victim, must be made, before any presentation of self or substance, of life or the product of life, can be acceptable. When, therefore, Dr Milligan says, "Thus we obtain a view of our Lord's work, by which its two great stages, that of His dying upon the Cross, and that of His presenting Himself to His Heavenly Father in the Most Holy Place, are united under one conception—the conception of offering," his view is one-sided. In the Biblical view, offering is one thing, atonement is another, and to identify them is to misconceive them.

ALFRED CAVE.

**A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel.**

*For the use of Students. By A. A. Bevan, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. University Press, 1892; p. 235. Price 8s.*

THE author has designed his commentary for "students," and those for whom it is intended will find it extremely useful. A better linguistic commentary could hardly be given. The author's acquaintance with the Shemitic dialects is wide and exact; and even those who are not students in the narrower sense will not seldom find something which adds to their knowledge. Though the linguistic notes constitute the feature of the work, the general interpretation of the Book of Daniel is not neglected. The meaning throughout is carefully shown. A summary of the chief ideas and the didactic purpose of each chapter is prefixed to it, and general questions of exegesis, such as the meaning of the phrase "son of man"—which the author does not take in a personal sense—the four monarchies, and the "time, times, and half a time," receive clear though brief treatment.

Some preliminary general questions are treated in the introduction. Of great use, as helping to clear up a subject which to many minds is rather hazy, is the chapter on the linguistic character of Daniel. Here a lucid account is given of the Aramaic dialects, Eastern and Western, to the latter of which the Biblical Aramaic, as well as the Targums, belong; and the subject is further illustrated by an appendix on some recently discovered Palmyrene inscriptions. Of interest, also, is another chapter on the Septuagint of Daniel. The original translation into Greek was displaced by the later one of Theodotion; but, of course, it was the earlier rendering that influenced the language of the New Testament. And here some may feel that Mr Bevan has been almost too mindful of his purpose to be "short," for a fuller account of this version in some of its more general bearings would have been acceptable. The author regards Daniel as a work of the Maccabean age, in agreement with most modern scholars. His allusions to writers who maintain the antiquity of the Book are sometimes needlessly sharp, and the footnote (p. 206), "that people who believe 'the time of the end' to be still future, should write commentaries on the Book of Daniel, is one of the most singular examples of the irony of history," is a sarcasm with no great point.

Mr Bevan considers the four monarchies to be Nebuchadnezzar, or the Babylonian, the Median, the Persian, and the Greek, including Alexander and the Syro-Greek or Seleucid empire. Perhaps most can be said for this, though certainly in ch. viii. (v. 3, 4, 20), the Medo-Persian, with its two horns, the greater coming up last,

seems treated as a single kingdom. The idea of a unity composed of two things, one of which was superior to the other, seems also expressed in ch. vii. 5, where it is said that the second beast "lifted up one side"—*i.e.*, one side appeared higher than the other. Mr Bevan would read the *pass.* "was lifted up," for which, however, there is no authority. Besides, the word *listar* is then difficult to construe; and the idea that the beast appeared "half crouching" seems to have little point. The question is not of much moment, for either the Medo-Persian must be divided into two, or the Alexandro-Syrian, into two, the latter division giving the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Alexander, and his successors, extending into the Greco-Syrian as the four. Of much more interest is a question of interpretation, both in Daniel and the Apocalypse, raised by the symbolism of "beasts." It is generally said that the beasts symbolise "kingdoms," and in a certain sense this is true, but not in the abstract way often represented. The beasts symbolise kingdoms wielded and animated by kings, or rather, they symbolise kings wielding the power of kingdoms, which are the embodiment of the spirit and character of the kings. Hence it is said to Nebuchadnezzar, "thou art that head of gold," and when "a man's heart" is given to the first beast (ch. vii. 4), this refers to the change in Nebuchadnezzar's character (ch. iv.). The two-horned ram (ch. viii. 3) is the Medo-Persian empire, represented by the two dynasties, or rather, probably, the two persons, Darius the Mede and Cyrus. Nowhere is there a personification of the abstract idea of a power or kingdom. The "beast" of the Apocalypse is often interpreted as a symbol of the abstraction called the "world power," or the Roman imperial "system," as Weiss puts it. Such abstractions are not symbolised in Scripture, and probably never occurred to a Scripture writer.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

## Das erste Buch der Bibel nach seiner inneren Einheit und Echtheit dargestellt.

Von O. Naumann: Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, Svo, pp. viii. 386.  
Price, M. 5.

IN its "inner unity," the first book of the Bible (Gen. i. 1—Ex. vii. 7), is a subtle polemic against the errors and vices of heathenism in general and the Egyptian religion in particular. The fundamental error of heathenism is its false conception of the relation between God and the universe. Hence the first step towards the founding of the true religion must be a lesson in cosmogony, such as we have in the first chapter of Genesis, where the Egyptian ideas

of generation, emanation, pantheism, &c., appear as the dark background against which the inspired writer consciously sets his sublime doctrine of creation. Here God is revealed under the name *Elohim*, the Creator and Lord of the visible universe. In chapters ii., iii. (based on another Egyptian "source" in which Babylonian elements are incorporated) He appears as *Jahve-Elohim*, the Preserver and Regenerator, who *re-creates* the earth, in accordance with the Egyptian belief in a periodic renewal of nature. Finally He is introduced as *Jahve*, the Governor, the Lord of the moral order of the world. The principal theme of the Book of Genesis is the unity which underlies these three different manifestations of God,—a unity of which the patriarchs were ignorant, but which the author (Moses) endeavours by all sorts of subtle indications to insinuate into the minds of his readers. Side by side with this main argument runs the exposition of the doctrine of the divine image in man, with its twofold endowment of *Zeugungskraft* and *Herrscherkraft*, the one connected with the word *צלם* and the other with the word *דמות*. In opposition to the heathen notions of necessary evil and inscrutable fate and dualism in the divine nature, it is shown by numerous examples how, under the government of the one righteous God, the destiny of men and nations depends on their use or abuse of these God-given powers. With the promise to Abraham of a numerous posterity and possession of the land of Canaan, the two aspects of the image of God seem to be merged in the ideal of the future kingdom of God to be realised in Israel; and in the last part of the book, the history of Joseph and the oppression, this divine State is contrasted with the world-power as embodied in the Tyrant-State of Egypt, of which it appears that Joseph himself was the founder. The clue to the authorship of the book whose unity is thus established, is found in the suitability of this peculiar kind of teaching to the circumstances of the Israelites on the eve of their departure from Egypt. "Diese Loslösung des erwählten Gottesvolkes aus den Fesseln des heidnischen Aberglaubens vollzieht dieselbe Führerhand welche . . . sein Volk aus der Knechtschaft der Ägypter zu befreien sich anschickt." We may add that while Moses is the real author, the function of "redactor" is, somewhat superfluously, assigned to Aaron.

Such is Naumann's view of the purpose, plan, and authorship of the first book of the Bible. It will be seen that the weight of his argument rests on the traces of Egyptian influence which he believes he has discovered there. These he has searched out and elaborated with amazing industry, but, as it seems to us, with too little tact and discrimination. For one thing, he does not distinguish between the esoteric pantheism of the Egyptian sacred writings and those primitive beliefs which are common to all ancient

peoples. We do not require the Egyptian "nif" to account for the double sense of נִיִּף, or the analogy of "ba" to explain how נִפְּטִי is used of the lower animals, exactly similar phenomena occurring all the world over. Again, it is only his prejudice in favour of Mosaic authorship that has led him to seek for Egyptological affinities and neglect the far closer formal parallel of the Babylonian Creation Tablets. Of the Babylonian religion, indeed, he does not profess to have made any special study; and we are utterly at a loss to know how he has come to regard it as dualistic, or to identify it with the religion of Zoroaster. But, after all, these are matters of subordinate importance in estimating the value of Naumann's work. It is a critical theory we have to do with, and it must be judged by its success in solving acknowledged critical difficulties. Let us see how it works when applied to one of the simplest problems presented by a critical study of Genesis; a problem, too, of which Naumann fully recognises the existence, and to the solution of which it may almost be said that his whole book is devoted. We mean, of course, the use of different names for God. We have already indicated the principle by which our author endeavours to reconcile this fact with the assumption of unity of authorship. The threefold revelation of the one God expresses the germ of truth contained in the divine Trias of the Egyptian theology, and corresponds also to its division of the universe into three spheres, each with its supreme deity. In order to lead the Hebrews from these conceptions to the true knowledge of God, Moses on the whole uses the name of God appropriate to the particular kind of revelation in hand. If, as frequently happens, he interchanges the names, and makes Elohim assume the rôle proper to Jahve, or *vice versa*, that is to exhibit the unity of essence that lies under the diversity of revelation. But even this latitude is not enough to make the theory plausible; each name of God has to undergo a variety of modifications before it can be made to suit all the connections in which it occurs. Thus, Elohim represents the Egyptian conception of God, and Jahve the Babylonian; and again, Jahve is the good, and Elohim the evil god, of the Semitico-Babylonian "dualism." Jahve is, besides, the god of light, the god of destiny, the supreme god of the Babylonian astral worship, and so on. Jahve-Elohim is equivalent to Haelohim, the "higher unity" of Jahve and Elohim, and this again to El-Shaddai, the Covenant-God of the patriarchs and the shepherd-god of the Semitic nomads. This last determination (were it not that all interpreters are agreed upon it!) would appear to have been suggested by the remarkable circumstance that the name El-Shaddai occurs just seven times in these chapters, while Jethro had seven daughters who were shepherdesses. With so many theological spectres abroad we may be prepared for

startling effects. When we find Jacob's simple vow at Bethel—"Jahve shall be my God"—turned into a declaration that henceforth he will worship Jahve under the name Elohim, we are at first disposed to regret that the familiar appellative sense of Elohim should have so completely escaped Naumann's memory. But then, what an insight we gain into the development of the patriarchal religion! It marks (this misinterpreted vow) the transition, "von dem ursprünglichen semitischen Jahve-cultus zu dem namentlich in Ägypten gepflegten Elohim-cultus, der den ersteren in den Hintergrund treten liess." Whether this was a forward or a retrograde step we have not been able to make out; in any case we could wish that Jacob's wives had taken it. Leah and Rachel—the one a worshipper of Jahve and the other of Elohim—have their domestic rivalry inflamed by religious animosity, and the story furnishes an illustration of the evil of polytheism even more than of the evil of polygamy. Leah is at last convinced, from experience, of the identity of Jahve and Elohim, but "der Rahel ist allem Anschein nach die bessere Gotteserkenntniss nicht gekommen!" The result is that Joseph, the son of this Elohist mother, is the first of Jacob's children to go down to Elohist Egypt. Perhaps these things are an allegory. But, allegory or not, the question is whether any sensible man will prefer this explanation of the characteristic use of the divine names to that which Naumann so decisively rejects—the hypothesis of different written documents, exhibiting the stylistic peculiarities of their authors.

It must not be supposed, however, that Naumann assumes an entirely hostile attitude towards the critical movement of the last hundred years or more. On the contrary, he is careful to point out, from time to time, the "elements of truth" that he is able to recognise in three of the phases through which it has passed—the "Urkunden"-hypothesis of Astruc; the "Ergänzungs"-hypothesis of Tuch; and the "Bearbeitungs"-hypothesis (a strange misnomer, by the way) of Wellhausen. Unfortunately the elements of truth which he finds in these theories are elements which the authors of them would never have recognised. Here we must call attention to the peculiar sense in which he uses the word "sources" (*Quellen*). In Pentateuch criticism the word has a definite and well-understood meaning. It means the separate narratives that have been pieced together by the successive "redactors" of the Pentateuch in such a way that they can still be distinguished by their literary and other characteristics. Naumann, of course, has a right to employ terms in any sense he chooses, but he would have saved his readers much trouble and confusion if he had plainly stated at the outset that, to him, "source" means nothing more than "source of information," or of ideas. The Babylonian and Egyptian mythologies, oral



traditions, genealogies, local and national customs, etc., all these are "*Quellen*," while the "*Hauptquelle*" is divine revelation. The only *written* sources at the disposal of the author of Genesis would seem to have been the genealogical lists, which were mostly of heathen origin. But in those days a genealogical list was a very instructive document. Each name was symbolic of the character and destiny of the person who bore it, so that, by the aid of etymology, supplemented by oral tradition and a little imagination, it was possible to reconstruct the history, and clothe the dry catalogue of names in the flesh and blood of living human relations. After this fashion, we are to understand that Moses composed great part of the book of Genesis. Now this raises another important question, to which we can find no satisfactory answer. Are the Genesis narratives history, or are they fiction? We cannot help suspecting that on this matter Naumann tries to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. To us, at all events, it appears that unless his exposition deals with actual historical events it loses whatever plausibility it might have had. Yet, in one place, Wellhausen is taken to task for the innocent manner in which he has tried to prove a contradiction between two sources by reckoning up Ishmael's age at the time he was expelled from Abraham's tent. He should have known that it is the manner of tradition to transfer the history of the tribe to the person of its ancestor, and that a glaring discrepancy like this only shews the freedom with which the author of Genesis has manipulated the tradition which was his principal source for this part of the narrative. If this means anything, it surely means that the stories of the patriarchs are ethnographic legends, with perhaps a kernel of historic truth wrapped up in them. Further on we learn that the thirty-eighth chapter is pure allegory, that the story of Joseph and his brethren is the history of successive immigrations of Semitic tribes into Egypt, that Joseph himself is the first Hyksos king, who supplanted the native monarch, and took the government into his own hands. This seems sufficiently explicit; still we cannot get rid of our first impression that Naumann's whole theory falls with the historic character of the record. If, for instance, Jethro's seven daughters are representatives of the seven planets, what can we make of Moses himself, who married one of them? When we consider that it was from the father of these planetary representatives that Moses is supposed to have got most of his information outside the range of his Egyptian learning, we feel that here at least the historical and the mythical have got into uncomfortably close relations. We have heard of critics who believed that Genesis was partly historical and partly legendary, but never before of one who brought the matter to so fine a point as this.

We shall only add that in Hebrew grammar and etymology

Naumann is as daring and original as he is in exegesis. מִקְדָּם cannot mean "eastward," must mean "von Osten her"; שְׁנֵי is a dual, possibly connected with the Egyptian-Asiatic divinity Seth, or the goddess Sati = Hathor; אֲדֹנָי (lord) is originally the Egyptian word for the sun's disc; תְּמִים is a plural, and may be derived from the substantive תָּם; תְּרָפִים seems to come from רָפָא, "heal"; הִתְחַתּ אֱלֹהִים אֲנִי means "Bin ich *nicht* unter Elohim?" In reality, however, grammar counts for very little in a work like this. If Naumann fails to win disciples, it will not be for his bad grammar, nor for his defective mastery of critical method, but chiefly because his results do not commend themselves to that common-sense of average mankind, which, where fairly informed, is doubtless, as Hatch has said, the ultimate solvent of all critical and speculative theories whatsoever.

J. SKINNER.

### Old Testament Theology; or, The History of Hebrew Religion from the Year 800 B.C.

*By Archibald Duff, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Old Testament Theology in the Yorkshire United Independent College, Bradford. From 800 B.C. to Josiah 640 B.C. London and Edinburgh: A. & C. Black. 8vo, pp. xvi. 343. Price 10s. 6d.*

THE question is being freely asked, What will be the precise effect upon generally accepted views of Old Testament religion if the results of critical analysis, according to the now dominant theory, should be regarded as established? Especially what opinion is held upon that point by devout evangelical scholars who have accepted the prevailing theory? The views of Old Testament religion which Wellhausen holds he has expressed in uncompromising language, and made sufficiently plain to all; but what measure of modification in their views of Old Testament religion is thought necessary by evangelical teachers, men who hold fast by the main doctrines of Christianity, to whom "the Israelitish religion" is not, as it was to Kuenen, "one of the principal religions of the world, nothing less, but also nothing more"? That question Professor Duff essays to answer in a series of volumes, the first of which is before us. The work done in the field of Old Testament research thus far has been mainly analytic, it is time that constructive work should follow; and Dr Duff proposes to give "in constructive historical form the results of such research in the special field of Hebrew religion."

He begins with a series of introductory studies on the Pentateuch, giving reasons why investigation cannot begin with the books

which stand first in the Canon. The unquestioned records of Hebrew religious life begin with the earliest "writing prophets," who prophesied in the eighth century B.C. Accordingly, Dr Duff's work opens with them. The present volume covers the period from Amos to Josiah—i.e., from 800 to 640 B.C., and includes an examination into the books of Amos, Hosea, certain parts of Isaiah, and Micah. Dr Duff's method is to begin with an analysis of the book to be studied, then to consider the writer as a man, in his work and the scenes of his activity, then to deal with the "antecedents" of his doctrine, or his "religious opinions genetically considered," then to give a full outline of the prophet's teaching in itself, tracing out, if need be, any progress or development observable in that teaching. Each is then set in his place in relation to Hebrew religious history. In the course of exposition, Dr Duff introduces free translations, or paraphrases of passages from the various prophets, so as to give to an English reader a more vivid impression of the meaning than could be gained from the quotation of the words, either of the Authorised or the Revised Version. An outline analysis of what is described as "The Amos-Revelation" will give an idea of Professor Duff's mode of treating his subject. The revelation is described as coming "amid wrestlings," thoroughly human, but "in company with God;" it consisted in "breadth and keenness of conscience," the first writing prophet being essentially the prophet of conscience, rising in his standard above the tribal conscience, and demanding a larger righteousness, inasmuch as Jehovah of Hosts was "Over-Lord" in relation to all gods. Amos' views of man, of revelation, and of the nature of God are then described, illustrated by extracts from the prophet's writings, and the section closes by an account of the religious problems which Amos left unsolved. A similar treatment is pursued in the case of each of the prophets whose works are analysed, and the parts are connected together so as to present a picture, according to the author's view of it, of Hebrew religion during the eighth and half of the seventh century before Christ.

In estimating the value of the work, it is right to put in the forefront the fact that Professor Duff is an able and earnest Christian teacher. His material has been prepared largely in the progress of his work amongst the students for the Christian ministry, and he seldom loses sight of that fact. He apologises for "preaching too much," but no devout student of the Scriptures will regret the prominence that is given to the fact that it is a *religion* which is being studied, not a mere series of literary documents. The exposition is that of an eager, even enthusiastic teacher of religion, and every effort is made to quicken the words of the ancient record into full life, and show their bearing upon religious problems which are as

important in the nineteenth century A.D., as they were two thousand five hundred years ago.

The great burning questions of Old Testament criticism are not, properly speaking, debated in this volume. A decision upon them is taken for granted. It has been virtually arrived at before this constructive exposition begins. The only approach to argument on the subject is in the section on the Pentateuch. This appears to us to be either too long or too short. It only contains thirty pages, and, of course, cannot give even an outline of the reasons which have led Professor Duff to the views he holds, but his remarks—*e.g.*, on the *Torath-Mosheh* (pp. 24, 25), and the authorship of the book of Deuteronomy—deal in a far too summary fashion with topics which need to be elucidated, if not debated. But Dr Duff promises a fuller exposition of these points in a future volume. In dealing with the prophets Amos, Hosea, Micah, there are happily no differences of opinion to discuss, and, in treating of Isaiah, Professor Duff merely selects those chapters which he believes were written by the prophet, without arguing out his reasons for the course he takes. The author's views, however, appear very plainly from time to time. In speaking of Hosea's work, he says, "Because men need a sanctuary, therefore ere long a sanctuary law shall be exalted, and for a time obeyed. Sacrifices will not seem sacred unless they become separated from the family meal and the common places of resort. . . . The sympathetic prophecy of Hosea is not enough. Law must appear; ritual must be used in the ages to come" (p. 149). This is a representative passage, illustrating the way in which Professor Duff's "constructive" method assumes, without debate, the positions of critical analysis. Such a method obviously has its advantages, but in this country, until the more advanced conclusions of that analysis have been fairly established, it is attended with drawbacks quite as obvious.

Leaving such debatable questions on one side, the chief thing to be said about this book is that it is instinct with life, and must be full of stimulus to all students of the Old Testament, especially to those younger students for whom it was, in the first instance, prepared. The colour and glow of Dr Duff's style sometimes interfere with the accuracy and precision of form which is expected in a professor's dissertations. But the author is determined at all costs to make the words he expounds full of a deep, living significance to his readers. He "de-polarises" many familiar religious expressions in order that none may miss their meaning. "Son of God" is translated "very Divine Being;" *Logos*, "an idea of God's way;" *Torah* is "a brief story and theory of Jehovah's relation to Israel's past history." A "Moses-Torah" is explained to mean "a theory of the deliverance and deliverer of Israel." Hosea is said to have

written such a Moses-Torah. These examples will show that to some of Dr Duff's explanations and paraphrases exception might well be taken ; but he does not debate such points, hastening on to give in earnest words his own view of their meaning.

Another characteristic of the exposition is the extent to which the author discerns progress, development, movement, everywhere. Not only does he trace out marked progress in the idea of God and of religion in passing from Amos to Hosea, and from Hosea to Isaiah, but in the compass of one short book of a minor prophet room is found for the "development" of the writer's thought. Dr Duff speaks in one place of "that flux of thought, that process of the soul's alchemy, that advance from one way of thinking to another, which singularly and most truly marks men who are in close fellowship with God ;" and, again, of "that constant self-contradiction, that very living flux and upward advance," which marks the conceptions of Amos. No doubt theology has often deserved the reproach of being too rigid and stereotyped, and even Biblical theology has not always been ready enough to mark the progress of which Prof. Duff speaks, but in reaction against one extreme he fails to guard against the other. In describing Leviticus, he says, "Never was there a more fascinating story of life, so intensely interesting is the evident progress of reflection, of wonder, of a very agony of striving after peace in the soul." Several passages we had marked illustrate this "movement," which is characteristic of religious, as of all life, very effectively. In others, we are bound to say, the author seriously over-strains his point, and there is another side of the truth—the continuity and stability of the religious teaching of the prophets—to which sufficient prominence is by no means given.

Dr Duff is an accomplished Hebrew scholar, and there are abundant signs of his ability in this respect throughout his work. We doubt, however, whether his etymologies are always so assured (even when the authority of Lagarde can be quoted) that he is warranted in building upon them the theological conclusions he seeks to establish. Space will not warrant our examining into the explanation given of Jehovah as the Life-causer, Jehovah Elohim as "Jehovah belonging to the Far-reaching ones," of טוב, "good," as meaning "pleasant," in a eudæmonistic sense, or of נִשְׁכָּח עֲוֹן, "forgiveness of sins," as the "eliminating of twistedness" out of Zion. The somewhat full discussion of the root Q-d-sh and its derivatives (p. 161), contains, along with much that is instructive and stimulating to students, who are only too apt to treat words mechanically, more than one questionable statement.

With the substance of Dr Duff's exposition it is impossible to feel anything but hearty sympathy. As he says, "The real study of the

Old Testament consists in learning how men then thought of God, and how, by God's providence, they moved on to know Him better." The greater part of this volume consists in an unfolding of such thought and knowledge of God, as presented by the early prophets, and Dr Duff's exposition is marked by great spiritual insight, deep feeling, and often eloquent utterance. We cannot profess to agree with the author in many of his statements, assumed, as we said above, without discussion; but resting, it is presumed, upon evidence which will, sooner or later, be forthcoming. Dr Duff, in dealing with Hosea's teaching, speaks of "the new faith in Jehovah the Over-Lord, God over all the Baalim" (p. 114). And, again, he says, "To Hosea, Jehovah is a national God—that is, He is co-ordinate to some extent with the Baals and other national or tribal deities." There is a whole theory of "religious development" wrapped up in these expressions, quite unwarranted, as it appears to us, by any language of the prophet, or any other evidence here adduced. Similarly we cannot follow Dr Duff in his exposition of what he calls the new "Zion-faith" in the early part of Isaiah's history, and the frequent mention of the prophets' "opinions" seems to point to a view of revelation with which many would by no means be prepared to sympathise.

But it is to be borne in mind that Professor Duff is traversing ground almost every inch of which bristles with controversial questions, latent, if not patent. In dealing with these topics, Christian teachers must for the present on both sides refrain from dogmatism, patiently reason out their differences, and try to learn from one another. Much may be learned from Dr Duff's work by all Old Testament students, whether or no they agree with his premises or his conclusions. Even more must all devout students be grateful for the deep religious earnestness displayed in this exposition of Old Testament theology, and acknowledge the stimulus imparted by the author's enthusiastic interest in his subject. This volume furnishes a valuable contribution from one special point of view to the rapidly accumulating literature on the subject of Hebrew religion, and probably does but prepare the way for more important contributions on the part of the author, containing more complete and fully wrought-out arguments yet to follow.

W. T. DAVISON.

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**The Early Religion of Israel as set forth by Biblical Writers, and by Modern Critical Historians.**

*Being the Baird Lecture for 1889. By James Robertson, D.D.,  
Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Glasgow.  
Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp.  
xiv. 524. Price 10s. 6d.*

THE last word has by no means yet been spoken on the question of the critical analysis of the Old Testament. The theory which has obtained the suffrages of so large a proportion of scholars in Germany, and some of the most eminent in this country, has many tests yet to pass before it can be considered a verified hypothesis. One of these is the simple test of time, which has proved fatal to theories even more plausible and widely accepted. The test of time means, however, of course, only the power of the theory in question to account for all the facts, and victoriously to meet the series of objections successively launched against it. In other words, the Kuenen-Wellhausen hypothesis concerning Old Testament history must prove itself to be not only a highly ingenious analysis of literary documents, but a workable and working explanation of Jewish religious history. If it fails in this, it fails in everything. All its complex and elaborate machinery of documents, "worked over" by successive writers and "redactors," will fail to save it from destruction, but will rather enhance the ignominy of its failure.

It is from this point of view that Professor Robertson approaches his subject. It is needless to say that the Professor of Oriental Languages at Glasgow University, who has lived for many years on the borders of Palestine, possesses all the scholarship requisite for his task, and none but an able scholar could have written this book. Yet it is not as a *savant* chiefly that Dr Robertson writes. He does not discuss linguistics, nor does he encumber his pages with an embarrassing wealth of quotations from the pages of other scholars. He desires "to approach the subject in such a manner that an intelligent reader of the English Bible may not be placed at a disadvantage, and to present the questions in dispute in such a shape that he will be able from the first to follow the argument." Professor Robertson, while not disparaging current criticism, pleads for "a criticism of a saner sort, such as we should employ in the ordinary intercourse of life or apply to a modern author," interpreting the words of a writer of Scripture "in a fair and common-sense fashion," and ready at times to confess its own ignorance. He thinks that criticism needs criticising, lest the prevailing theory should itself become "traditional," and be accepted by multitudes

on no better grounds than those on which the former view became traditional.

It needs some courage to take up such a position in face of an array of high authorities, and we at once proceed to give an outline of the arguments by which Professor Robertson supports it. The importance of Israel in the history of the world depends upon its religion. Of that religion, says Professor Robertson, there are at present two contending theories claiming attention, which may be called respectively the Biblical and the Modern theory,—the one set forth consistently by the Biblical writers, the other formulated by modern critics and historians of Israel. That there was a “development” of some kind in the religious history of Israel is certain. What was it? In order to answer this question, Dr Robertson does not begin by discussing the details of the current critical analysis, but starts with unquestioned documents of the eighth century B.C., the writings of the prophets Amos and Hosea. He does not under-estimate the importance of the discussion concerning documents,—to which indeed he devotes some chapters at the end of his book,—but he holds that the Biblical theory does not depend upon the authorship and mode of composition of the Hexateuch; and for the purposes of his main argument, the tedious business of “verifying the sources” may be dispensed with.

Issue is fairly joined, then, on the common ground of the writings of the ninth and eighth centuries B.C., within which fall the earliest writing prophets; and it is contended that both as literary and as religious products, the prophecies of Amos and Hosea imply a background with which the critical theory does not supply them. Professor Robertson concludes that this period is “neither the earliest literary age nor the time of commencement of the prophetic religion.” Can the traces of earlier literary and religious activity be found? It is not difficult to show the possibility—nay, the strong probability of written composition in Israel long before the ninth century, and the author, reasoning only from data accepted by the critical school, seeks to show that the earliest history writers were not at the stage of floating myth, but that the eighth century is a time of “broad, historic day,” when Israel had a definite account to give of itself and its early history. He complains that Stade and other critics, by their persistent mutilation of documents as containing “unhistorical” elements, remove all fixed standards of appeal; but taking the main tenor of the prophecies of Amos and Hosea, he claims to make it clear that a “long foreground” is required for Israel to make such a “start” as is therein implied, and that the critics, in their account of the pre-prophetic religion, nowhere explain the rise of prophetic religion, if the prophets were, as they assert, originators, not reformers.



The three points which Prof. Robertson insists must be proved before the critics have made good their position are these—*First*, it must be clearly shown that before the time of the writing prophets, the religious beliefs and observances of Israel were on the same level as those of their neighbours, and that this represented the *normal* and *authorised* religion. *Secondly*, it must be shown how it came to pass that Israel remained Israel, so markedly different from her neighbours. *Thirdly*, the process of development must be satisfactorily traced out by which Israel arrived at the “ethic monotheism” of the prophets. Six chapters, constituting the main body of the work, are devoted to maintaining the thesis that in these respects the critical hypothesis has failed to make out its case. We cannot follow the author into the details of his arguments; suffice it to say that, as regards the naming of the Deity, the views held as to the dwelling-place and the representations of the Deity, as well as the kind of sacrifices offered to Him, the arguments of Kuenen, Stade, Wellhausen, and others, are subjected to a severe criticism, which shakes, if it does not overthrow much of the fabric of their hypothesis. The “Jahaveh Religion” is then examined, and Prof. Robertson claims to have shown that Jehovah never was a “tribal God,” that no sufficient explanation is given of the rise of the special characteristics which, later on, distinguished Jehovah from Chemosh, Moloch, and the gods of the nations round about Israel: therefore that the higher qualities discernible in the writings of the earliest prophets were present in the religion from the first. Prof. Robertson’s analysis of the “ethic monotheism” of the prophets, as described by the critics, and his arguments that this could not have had the origin implied in the theory, are especially effective and cogent.

The question whether the positive institutions of Israel had not a much more fully defined shape and authoritative sanction in the eighth century than modern historians allow, occupies the next two chapters. Prof. Robertson argues that “a Norm or Law, outside of the prophets, and superior to them,” was acknowledged, and that there are strong reasons for ascribing to Moses a definite and authoritative system of law. In the case of the Passover particularly, the theory fails to account for the facts, and in the worship and ceremonial generally there was a reference, which the critical theory does not allow, to special events in the nation’s history which marked them out as Jehovah’s people.

Last of all comes a consideration of the Three Codes. Prof. Robertson’s arguments do not concern so much the literary history of the documents as the religious history which lies behind them. He contends that Wellhausen, and those who agree with him, give no satisfactory account of the introduction of the various Codes, or

of what happened in the intervals between. He dwells upon the weakness in the application of the argument from silence, and in the "praxis" and "programme" elements of Wellhausen's theory. Finally, he argues that the reversal of the order of law and prophets is not borne out by facts, that the character in which the prophets are made to appear by the critics is inconsistent, and that the religious history of Israel did by no means turn on a struggle of parties; that while the Biblical theory, justly stated, will stand the test of a sober and common-sense criticism, the modern critical theory is unnatural in its treatment of documents, does not explain the great crises and turning-points in the history of Jewish religion, and gives a view of its development, which could not for a moment be maintained, were it not for the underlying postulates concerning the supernatural which form the basis of the whole.

We have given a somewhat full outline of these lectures, and allowed Prof. Robertson to speak for himself—through a very inadequate medium of interpretation—because we think that the line of argument here adopted is the strongest which can be taken against the prevailing theory concerning the composition of the Pentateuch. This book raises deeper questions than the date and authorship of certain Old Testament books, important as these are in their place. Those who have defended the traditional view hitherto have too often allowed themselves to be lost in the discussion of the details of the "Codes," and the arguments for and against a particular system of analysis. Prof. W. H. Green of Princeton, who has distinguished himself as a resolute champion on this side, has not always made the most of his own case. Prof. Robertson, in this volume, places first the things that are first in order of importance, and he devotes the strength of his argument, not to the topic which claims logical priority, but to the most serious point at issue. He is entitled further to all the respect which belongs to one capable of appreciating the point of his adversary's case. The positions of Stade, Wellhausen, and other prominent Old Testament critics are stated with commendable fulness and fairness. Somewhat too much prominence is perhaps given to the extreme views of M. Maurice Vernes, who serves as a kind of "awful example" of what criticism may lead to, but no partisan advantage is taken of mere technicalities or slips in detail.

It must be clearly understood, however, that Prof. Robertson does not undertake to defend the "traditional" theory, as that is often understood. He admits, and often strongly states, its difficulties. That the legislation as recorded in the Pentateuch should contain the same laws, repeated with little or no alteration in the same collection; that discrepancies should be found in different places on the same subject, while laws relating to diverse subjects

are brought into strange juxtaposition, these are well nigh insuperable difficulties on the theory that Moses wrote substantially the books that have been called by his name. He admits that "the expedients that have been resorted to in order to remove these difficulties are very often artificial and hazardous" (p. 382). He contends that the Biblical theory of the early religion of Israel, in order to be rightly understood, must not be "burdened with the assumptions with which it has been often 'traditionally' encumbered" (p. 464). He does not discuss the authorship of the records that have come down to us, partly because he believes that the authorship often cannot be ascertained, but chiefly because the trustworthiness of the testimony is not made to depend chiefly upon author and date. The strength of Prof. Robertson's case—and it seems to us, in certain of its features, exceedingly strong—is that he gives so much freedom of literary analysis to the critics whose judgment he questions, and upon their own view of disputed books convicts them of propounding a view of the religion of Israel which does not account for the facts, or give even a plausible explanation of the history of a *religion*. Even as an account of the rise and growth of a *superstition*, the critical theory is defective, but as a study of genuine, deep, religious history, it fails most lamentably to give a coherent and credible account of its rise, progress, and significance. In pressing this argument, Prof. Robertson writes simply as a student of religions; he does not rely upon any arguments drawn from the New Testament, or any *a priori* assumptions concerning Divine Revelation. But he pleads that in these days it is understood that religion is not based upon fraud; that the habit of describing Mohammed as an impostor is obsolete among fair-minded men; and that the most favourable construction is usually put upon the work of religious leaders. But, in the case of Israel, a nation universally allowed to be of the first importance in the religious history of the world, "the greatest characters, instead of being spontaneous actors in a great life-drama, are merely posturing and acting a part upon a stage."

It is clear that these arguments apply only to one school of critical analysts. They do not hold as against the position occupied by Delitzsch in his later years, or by the more moderate representatives of criticism, especially in this country. But they contain a not unfair description of the critical theory in the hands of men like Wellhausen and Stade, who are the acknowledged leaders of critical opinion; and Prof. Robertson's plea in arrest of judgment will prove to be very timely if it enables students to discriminate between critics who unfortunately are too frequently classed together. The publication of this volume is one among many indications that educated religious opinion in this country will

probably refuse either entirely to reject the critical work done in Germany, or to accept it *en bloc*. The contribution made by Great Britain to the controversy may very well prove to be the sifting, or pruning, by practical good sense of theories which English scholarship is hardly laborious enough, and is certainly not ingenious or speculative enough, to have originated. But it by no means follows because the traditional belief of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, long mechanically held in the Christian Church, is given up, and some of the principles which regulate the critical analysis of it are accepted, that we are compelled to accept the views of Israelitish religious history which are identified with the names of a few prominent rationalistic critics.

We understand this to be the main plea of Professor Robertson's Baird Lectures, and in putting it forward just now he has rendered timely and valuable service. We have not in this brief notice attempted any detailed sifting of the author's arguments. The full discussion of a single point of detail would exhaust our space. All his positions are by no means of equal strength, and some of them appear to us to be very doubtful. But the book must be reckoned with as probably the strongest on the conservative side of the Pentateuch controversy that has appeared in this country. If Professor Robertson is not held to have made good all his contentions, he will at least have rendered important service in checking the tendency to accept a dominant theory in a mechanical, unintelligent fashion. The issues are too serious to be trifled with. The acceptance of *some* of the methods employed by Old Testament critics would leave little standing of the New. Professor Robertson has made a protest which will not be disregarded by those who think it to be timely and useful, and which cannot be safely disregarded by those who consider it to be reactionary and mistaken.

W. T. DAVISON.

### Sermons Preached in Lincoln's Inn Chapel.

*By Frederick Denison Maurice. In six volumes. London: Macmillan & Co. Vols. I-IV. Cr. 8vo, pp. 306, 344, &c. Price 3s. 6d. each volume.*

FEW men of the last generation carried with them through life so marked an individuality and so intense a spirit as Frederick Denison Maurice; few so whole-heartedly threw themselves into the best movements of their time; and few did more to mould the religious thought of the best minds. If one needs to be of the inner circle of followers before he can agree that "no such mind as Maurice's has

been given to the world since Plato's," it was an acute observer who had no personal knowledge of him who said, "I know many whom he has moulded like a second nature, and these, too, men eminent for intellectual powers, to whom the presence of a commanding spirit would, in all other cases, be a signal rather for rivalry than for reverential acknowledgment. The effect which he has produced on the minds of many at Cambridge . . . is far greater than I can dare to calculate, and will be felt both directly and indirectly in the age that is upon us." His intellectual qualities certainly had something to do with this influence, but it is mainly to be credited to his character, to his tenderness and unselfishness—which passed the tenderness and unselfishness of woman—to his humility, his ceaseless seriousness and intensity, and, perhaps, above all, to his absolute sincerity. It was, however, rather as a personality than as an author that he influenced his generation, and it is doubtful whether many of his writings will live. For the most part, a man must make his choice, and either pour his life into the general life of his time, or stand aside and look at men and things with the dispassionate eye of the artist or philosopher. Maurice chose the former rôle, and, consequently, although such books as his *Patriarchs and Lawgivers*, or his *Epistles of St John* ought to live, his literary work as a whole suffers.

It would, indeed, have been discreditable to the "British public" had there been no demand for a reprint of the Lincoln's Inn Sermons. They are in every sense remarkable and exceptional sermons. A first reading may not, indeed, captivate a novice. To one who is but making his acquaintance the sermons may seem nothing more than a series of surprises; a text—a mere conjuror's hat—out of which the preacher produces the most unexpected and incongruous articles. It will seem to such a reader that Maurice habitually gathered figs off thistles, or, at least, would never think of going to a fig-tree for figs, and that, under the guise of an absolute simplicity, there is being exercised a most bewildering ingenuity, which at times amounts to a kind of legerdemain. But if the reader has patience, and can allow this true man to impart his wisdom in his own fashion, he will shortly be rewarded by finding himself led into deeper meanings of Scripture than he had before perceived, and confronted with a power in its words previously unfelt. For everywhere Maurice takes it for granted that the words of Scripture had a real and comprehensible meaning to the people to whom they were spoken, but that the whole blessing or terror of them is as much for us as for them. The vagueness which at first seems to characterise the preacher's ideas is gradually seen to be merely the dust which is necessarily stirred in sweeping away misconceptions and traditional ideas, and there remains a solid substructure of essential

truth based on the very nature of things. For no reader can escape the conviction that all that is urged in these sermons is the very truth, and the most sane and incontrovertible reason. But, perhaps, above all, what forces itself on the reader is a feeling—almost a sense—of the supreme importance and reality of the Kingdom of God on earth, and the comparative unimportance of everything else except in so far as it is connected with this. Few sermons, indeed, are so much what sermons ought to be, so unlike what sermons commonly are.

MARCUS DODS.

### A Hebrew Lexicon for the Old Testament.

*By Prof. Carl Siegfried, D.D. of Jena, and Prof. Bernhard Stade, D.D. of Giessen. With two Appendices: I. Lexicon for the Aramaic parts of the Old Testament; and II. German-Hebrew Vocabulary. First Part, א to עֵבֶר. 8vo, pp. 480. Leipzig: Veit & Co., 1892. Price of whole work, 15 Marks. To be completed possibly by the approaching Easter.*

A LEXICON of this kind has been long wanted. Gesenius's Thesaurus, 2nd Edition, appeared in 1829-1853, with the Index in 1857. In the author's preface to the first volume, with its pathetic story of the death of his beloved son Edward, the suffering but courageous man records his hope to finish the whole work by 1837. He toiled on, however, until 1842, when he finished the first part of Volume III., and then died. Professor Roediger completed the great work. All our dictionaries of later date have been mainly repetitions of Gesenius's, excepting Fuerst's, which is rather wild in its ways. We are still using, therefore, what dates from 1829. Possibly publishers have hesitated at the cost of production. The attitude shown toward Old Testament studies by large classes may also have stood in the way. Students, however, have been quietly at work. A mass of monographs on words have been printed, chiefly indeed at the cost of the authors, as theses for graduation or otherwise. The works of De Lagarde, Orelli, Ryssel, Baudissin, Guthe; the commentaries of Ewald, Hitzig, Hupfeld, Riehm, Delitzsch, Graf, Dillmann, Davidson, Cheyne, Smend; the analytical and historical work of Bleek, Kuenen, Oehler, Wellhausen, Stade, Schultz, Duhm, Smith; and the grammatical treatises of Ewald, Olshausen, Stade, Kautzsch, all contain treasures rich and large that must be known by the master, but are hard to find for the scholar, and are all unknown to the public. These have lain awaiting the lexicographer. Hitherto we have had no lexicon adequate to the existing knowledge of Hebrew. But the task is now happily undertaken by Professors Siegfried and Stade;

and their work, nearly complete, is here in our hands. The demand for such a work is rising. Hebrew religion is becoming a very centre of interest; the Old Testament is proving to be a popular book. The new Lexicon is a tangible proof of this.

The method of Drs Siegfried and Stade is in some sense tentative. They record the various views of scholars, but generally withhold decision as to which view is preferable. Let us take in illustration their article on the famous word **אָל**. They give first the old-fashioned theory of its derivation from a supposed stem **אָל** = *to be thick, stout*, which stem, however, they do not give at all as an existing Hebrew word; and in support of this theory they refer to Gesenius and Hitzig, who have passed away, and also to Nöldeke. Then they give the theory of derivation from **אָלָה** (or **אָלָהּ**, whose meaning = *reached out*, they do not give); and in support of this, they name Ewald and Lagarde, also Dillmann and Nestle. Finally, they quote Stade's own opinion, from his Grammar, where **אָל** is marked as "an isolated word of variable pronunciation." The article gives also many references to uses of the word in the texts, and closes with enumeration and translation of those remarkable passages containing the phrase **יָשָׁא לְאֵל יְרֵי**. It would have been well to indicate the important critical discussions of this phrase. Thus the student will still need the judicial counsel of the teacher, and will often hesitate in his work. Let us hope for a speedy demand for a new edition, in which there may be even fuller references, and also independent verdicts, judicial but decided.

On the use of **אָל** as a prepositional word there is clear indication of the meaning of the root ("he reached out"), and abundant reference is given to the discussions of Lagarde, who was never weary of publishing fresh light on this word.

Let us note a few more selected illustrations of the book's service to us.

On **בַּת** = *a measure*, new and needed light is given.

On **נֵר** (see Isa. lxv. 11, and Cheyne on this passage), the possible meaning, *a deity* (*Jupiter*?), is omitted; although **נֵרִי** in the same passage is well discussed.

**הִנֵּנִי**. In treatment of such words excellent use is made of recent historical work, and its discussions of the value of the names that occur in the book of Genesis.

**הֶסֶד** is one of the most important words in the language; and the Lexicon comes up well to the task of recording summarily the rich studies of it made by Ewald, Hupfeld, Hitzig, Dillmann, and





the Lexicon virtually a Concordance. This adds eminently to its value.

But such suggestions are for the followers of Profs. Siegfried and Stade, rather than for themselves, to consider. When shall we Englishmen undertake a task like this, and construct from independent study a dictionary thoroughly adapted to all our English wants? Let us hope that interest in the Old Testament may extend amongst us. Meanwhile, we cry a hearty "Well done!" to these two scholars in another land who lead so well, and we wish their work a speedy introduction to our class-rooms and libraries.

ARCHIBALD DUFF.

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### Exposé de Théologie Systématique.

*Par A. Gretillat, Professeur de Théologie à la Faculté Indépendante de Neuchâtel. Tome Deuxième Propédeutique II. Apologetique, Canonique. Neuchâtel : Attinger Frères. Svo, pp. xiv. 653. Price F. 10.*

THE volume on Apologetics, second in the plan of Professor Gretillat, has been the fourth in the order of publication. The first volume appeared in 1885, the third volume in 1888, the fourth in 1890, and the second bears on its title page the year 1892. He gives reasons for his departure from the natural order of publication, which may be held as satisfactory. Readers of this volume ought also to have in their possession the first volume, in which the Professor sets forth his view of the relation of theology to the other human sciences, and his view of the relations of the theological sciences to one another. It is well that they should have clearly before them, Professor Gretillat's conception of the place and function of Apologetics in the encyclopædia of theological sciences, because of the importance of the discussion in itself, and because it has determined in a measure his treatment of the question. In truth, theologians are far from being agreed as to the place and function of Apologetics. What is its place in theological science? what its aim, its problem, its method? and what object is it to have in view? are important questions, to which various and contradictory answers have been given. Writing in the *Studien und Kritiken* in 1846 Kienlen says, "Since theological Encyclopædie has been successfully cultivated in the Protestant Churches, no theological discipline has had so strange a fate as Apologetics. A fugitive and a vagabond, it has been driven from one province of theology to another, and has nowhere found a fixed dwelling-place. In the latest time it has almost come to pass, that whosoever finds

it shall slay it." In the years that have passed since Kienlen wrote, some progress has been made in the several theological sciences, and in the conception of their relation to each other, and to the whole organism of theology, and yet there is no approach to agreement as to the place and function of Apologetics. Never was better work done in Apologetics than has been done within the past fifty years, but there are no signs of agreement as yet as to what place Apologetics is to have amongst the theological sciences.

It would lead us too far afield were we to describe and criticise M. Gretillat's encyclopædic scheme, and the place he assigns to Apologetics. To speak broadly, Apologetic is in his view part of the Introduction to Systematic Theology. "The time is come," he says, "to present the Biblical doctrine in the synthetic completeness of its elements,—that is to say, in the normal relation of each part to the whole, and of the whole to each part.

"In order, however, that that operation may be accomplished with success, it is necessary to determine, first of all, the relation of the Christian fact to other historical phenomena, and not only to assign to it its legitimate place in the series of these events, but to make good the title-deeds of Christianity in its claim to be a supernatural fact issuing from a divine and definite revelation; finally to set forth in their moral and dogmatic value the documents in which these revelations, finally recognised as such, are deposited. This is the task of the Introduction to Systematic Theology in its two principal sections, Apologetic and Canonics" (Vol. I., p. 245). Briefly, M. Gretillat's definition of the problem of Apologetics is, "the task of Apologetics is to establish by the ordinary means of historical criticism, that the facts which form the foundation of the Christian religion have really happened." This is, no doubt, an important task, which, were it well done, would be of unique value. At the same time, there is other work to be done which must lie within the scope of Apologetics. For example, we have the whole question of religion, which, in its nature, in its meaning, and in its history, as manifested among all races of men, has won for itself so vast a place in the literature of the present. M. Gretillat complains that the science of religion has been cultivated mainly in the interests of the study of evolution, but has the science of religion no part to play in the defence of Christianity? Granted that in the science of religion we "cause Christianity to enter into a series of terms in an indefinite process," and so far rank it with other religions; a comparative study of religions may yet have the effect of proving that Christianity has a unique position in relation to them. Why should we deprive ourselves of the opportunity of showing that the needs of the human race—the thirst of the intelligence for truth, the longing of the heart for life, the demand

of the conscience for guidance—as these are revealed in the history of all religions, have been met and satisfied in the religion of Christianity? Other topics are also not included in M. Gretillat's definition. Let us, however, look at what M. Gretillat has done.

He has given us a somewhat meagre historical sketch of the history of Apologetics, which in many instances becomes a mere catalogue of names. Then he comes to the theory of the Apology of Christianity, which he discusses in three sections. (1) The object, (2) the means of the Apology of Christianity, and (3) the competence of Apologetics. The object has been already stated. As soon, however, as we come to the discussion of the means of Apologetics ere we are aware we are in the midst of a controversy between the Protestant and the Roman Catholic Churches. And M. Gretillat proceeds to discuss the rival claims of authority and individuality. We, ourselves, are familiar with the claims of private judgment, but we should hesitate ere we brought this polemic question within the scope of Apologetic. For one thing it belongs to "Polemics" not to "Apologetics," and when we are discussing the question of whether Christianity has a right to exist, it does seem out of place to inquire as to what outward form its authority is to assume. The fundamental facts on which Christianity is based must first be proven; if they are disproved, the further question falls of itself. In truth, however, M. Gretillat seems to have been forced into this discussion by circumstances peculiar to his own Church and country. He has been constrained to look not on the kind of Apologetic which Christianity needs, but, in this instance at least, at the peculiar needs of French-speaking peoples. This particular discussion is one in which his polemic is directed mainly against M. l'Abbé de Broglie, between whom and M. Gretillat there seems to have been a prolonged controversy, and we are constrained to read a lengthened refutation of the Abbé's argument. We are constrained to read of Pascal and the Port Royalists, of Rousseau and the Savoyard Vicar, of the Vatican Council; and, on the other hand, M. Gretillat forces us to read too much about Secrétan, Schérer, and others. The reading is interesting, no doubt, in its place, but it is not Apologetics, and it is somewhat provincial.

We get into a wider region and into one of more general interest when we pass on to consider the general relation of religion to revelation, and have to deal with the nature and the successive degrees of revelation. With unmixed pleasure we have read his discussion on Natural religion and its verification, on final causes in Nature, and their relation to the supreme cause. His criticism of the various schemes of dualism, monism, materialism, dynamism, and pantheism is clear and incisive; and the discussion of polytheism, and of the rank to be assigned to polytheism in the series

of religions, shows a fine appreciation of the state of the question to-day, and reveals a thinker cautious, well-informed, and one who will not commit himself to the maintenance of untenable positions.

We find, however, that Mr Gretillat is most happy when he has to deal with historical facts and their verification. Is a supernatural fact possible? is the question he sets himself to answer, and in a series of paragraphs he shows the ontological possibility of supernatural facts, which really is a defence of miracle and its possibility in answer to Strauss, Renan, Littré, and others. He shows, also, that miracles are morally possible, that there is a moral congruity (*convenance*) in supernatural facts, that revelation is necessary for man even in his normal state, and *a fortiori* necessary in his fallen state. Then he seeks to set forth and to justify the modes of action of historical revelation in Nature, and in that course of history which we call sacred. In a masterly chapter he summarises next the evidence for the historical reality of the Christian facts. We have the testimonies of the Jews, of the pagans, of the primitive Christians, and we have a clear statement of the fact that the Primitive Church based its existence on the resurrection of Christ, and its faith in the resurrection of Christ was the very life of the early Church. From the resurrection of Christ thus attested, the author leads us back to the teaching, the miracles, the moral perfection of Jesus Christ, and we are thus enabled to see as a whole the historical argument for Christianity. These eighty-five pages are, in our view, the most valuable in the volume. We may not agree with the philosophy of M. Gretillat, nor with his science; we may think that he has introduced topics into the discussion which might have found a fitter place elsewhere, and has omitted topics which ought to have been discussed, but this summary of the historical argument, so masterly in its grouping, so cogent in its convincing power, will persuade most people that M. Gretillat has not laboured in vain.

After having set forth in the concluding section the Divine origin of the Christian fact, the fulfilment of the Old Testament in the Person and work of Christ, the present and future Sovereignty of Christ in the Kingdom of God, and the equality of Jesus with God Himself, M. Gretillat passes on to speak of Canonicity, and the normative character of the primitive documents of the Christian faith. But we cannot at present deal with this interesting part of his book. The topics discussed are the mode in which Divine Revelation is communicated to human intelligence, the element of inspiration, the limits of inspiration, relation of inspired thought to language, relation of the word to Scripture in the products of inspiration, relation of religious inspiration to esthetic inspiration, and to scientific activity, from which he passes on to consider

Canonicity, its notes, marks, and evidence. His treatment of the subject may, on the whole, be described as satisfactory, though there are some points to which exception may be taken.

JAMES IVERACH.

### **Unterricht im Christentum.**

*Von Professor Lic. Theol. W. Bornemann. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 2 Aufl. Svo, pp. xvi. 300. Price M. 4.*

PROFESSOR BORNEMANN claims that his work is distinguished from similar expositions by a new arrangement of materials, by a constant reference to real life, and to the realisation of Christian thought, by a regard to all the burning religious and moral questions of the present time, and in other ways which need not be enumerated. A perusal of his work leads to the conclusion that he needs no apology for its appearance. He has done real service to Evangelical theology by its publication. His new arrangement of materials, though at first somewhat startling, may be defended. He places the "doctrine of the last things" at the beginning, in connection with the exposition of the doctrine of the Kingdom of God. The doctrine of the Person of Christ is set forth before the doctrine of God is touched; and the doctrine of justification is treated by him in connection, not with the doctrine of the Person and Work of Christ, but with the doctrine of God. It may be said that, by placing these doctrines in these positions and relations, we obtain a new and fruitful view of them. What we have found most characteristic and most suggestive in the present work may be set forth in his own words—"This exposition proceeds on the principle that in everything which belongs to our salvation the historical Jesus Christ is our only authority, our foundation, and our stronghold. It does not therefore limit itself to a treatment of Jesus in a section 'on the Person and Work of Jesus Christ,' and to give incidentally here and there words of Jesus as proofs, signs, and decisions. Rather, in every section is the question conscientiously asked: How has Jesus in His words, in His silence, in His deeds, placed Himself in relation to it? What light falls from His whole Person on this or that problem?" This habit gives a freshness, power, and vividness to the exposition of Christian doctrine which are admirable. If we need to make any complaint, it would be that our author follows Ritschl too closely in those places where Ritschl is weak and unsatisfactory; as, for example, in his treatment of the proofs for the existence of God. Here both Ritschl and our author might have learnt something from Dörner.

JAMES IVERACH.

## Die Apostelgeschichte ; Ihre Quellen und deren geschichtlicher Wert.

*Von Friedrich Spitta. Halle: Buchh. d. Waisenhauses.  
8vo, pp. xi. 380. Price M. 8.*

THIS is a striking and important book on a problem now pressing urgently for solution. Like every attempt to dissect an ancient book into the various documents out of which it is supposed to have been pieced together, it is a work of great labour, and cannot be mastered without a good deal of patience. Though the book has been half a year before the public, the German scholars do not seem to have made up their minds, or at least to have pronounced their judgment on it. We cannot discuss it in detail,—for that, a larger book than Mr Spitta's own would be required,—but our readers will like to have a report on the contents of a book which, if we are not mistaken, is destined to be a good deal heard of.

That the writer of Acts made use of certain written sources for his work, is plain to every reader ; but what the sources were, and how much the writer himself knew, and what method he followed in drawing up his history, are questions which have been much debated. Those sections in which the first person plural is used (xvi. 10-17, xx. 4-15, xxi. 1-18, xxvii. 1, xxviii. 16) are manifestly from a journal kept by one of St Paul's travelling companions ; the apostolic decree (xv. 23-29), and the letter of Claudius Lysias to Felix, are presented to us as written documents to which the historian had access ; and many have thought that he must also have found the speeches, or at least some of them, preserved in writing. So far, things are pretty plain ; but the conviction is growing among scholars that it must be possible to go further than this in tracing the sources of Acts. The Gospel of Luke is undoubtedly based on written sources ; the prologue all but says so, and the student of the Gospel sees that it is so. If Acts is by the same writer, it was probably produced by the same method. So at least many students now believe ; and it seems likely that the study of Acts will, for some time to come, be concerned with the attempt to dissect the book into its various sources. Attempts of the kind are already multiplying. Dr Bernhard Weiss, in his "Introduction to the New Testament," makes an elaborate analysis of the book, and assumes one written source for the earlier and another for the latter part of it, while most of the difficulties found in the various narratives are traced to the awkwardness of the editor. Weiszäcker, in his "Apostolisches Zeitalter," makes a similar attempt for the latter part of the work. A new dissection of Acts by Feine is to be noticed in another number. And we be-

lieve that Dr Sanday, at the Church Congress last autumn, expressed the wish that some competent scholar in this country would take up the question of the sources of Acts. May we not hope that he will see his way to do so himself? If, as seems to be the case, criticism must inevitably take up this labour, it must be done in English for readers of English, as well as in German; and who so competent as he?

May we point out, before proceeding with Mr Spitta, how great the advantage would be if we could know, even very approximately, what witnesses to the facts of the early history of the Church we actually have before us in Acts? If some of them are earlier than others, and had better opportunities of knowing the facts, and if we could know that, it would add immensely to our confidence with regard to a matter which concerns the Christian world very nearly. If the book is taken as all of a piece, all equally from one writer, then the credence we can place in it is measured by that which we can place in the weakest part of it; but if there are parts in it which are weak, a dissection of the book into its elements might enable us to put these on one side, and to regard what remained with more confidence than we can now place in the book as a whole. The task of making this dissection is certainly one that requires great sobriety of judgment: but if it is necessary, as so many now declare, it is no doubt possible to do for Acts what has been done for Genesis, and we can, at all events, refuse doubtful and imperfect solutions of the problem till the right one makes its appearance.

Mr Friedrich Spitta, whose dissection of Acts is now before us, has already published a work of a similar nature on the Apocalypse; so that he has a practised hand. He expresses in the present work a desire to deal in the same way with the synoptic Gospels—he is not wanting in confidence. His book on Acts, however, he tells us, was planned and, for the most part written, fourteen years ago, so that it is not a hasty performance. There is no hesitation or uncertainty in his utterances. He expresses himself as one who has had the documents from which Acts was written before his eyes for a decade; he has become intimate with them; he has all their habits and tendencies, all that each says or omits to say thoroughly by heart, and can pronounce in a moment whether the view of an opponent is one that these authorities admit. To the reader, of course, to whom the grounds of this assurance are not so familiar, it is at first rather strange; but he learns as he reads on that Mr Spitta's work is never done carelessly, that he is most conscientious and thorough, and possesses great knowledge and good scholarship. With many of the positions taken up in this book we cannot agree, but we have always found Mr Spitta interesting and sugges-

tive, and believe his book to be one which the student of Acts will long require to have beside him.

And what, then, is his theory? The main position of it may be stated in few words. It differs from all previous theories on the subject in asserting that the writer of Acts had before him two written works, both of which went over the whole history from the settlement of the Church at Jerusalem to Paul's arrival at Rome. From these two works, Mr Spitta holds, the writer of Acts derived practically the whole of his materials, fitting the two accounts as well as he could into each other, and supplying very little beyond what was necessary to make them read as one narrative.

This is the result of the discussion: it is worked out gradually, one section of Acts after another being taken up. In the first chapter it is found that there are two accounts which, in many points, do not agree together, of the first residence of the Christians at Jerusalem. In one (i. 15-17, 20-23), the company of believers, consisting only of the disciples and relatives of Jesus, remains in the temple (this narrative is found to be continuous with that in Luke xxiv. 50-53); in the second (i. 4-14, 18, 19), there are one hundred and twenty of them, and they occupy an upper room. The writer thus gets on the trail of his two documents; and in each section of Acts he afterwards takes up, he succeeds in finding the same two documents again. The difficulties which criticism has found in each section are shown to be due in many cases to the fact that we have before us not one narrative only, but two, which do not perfectly agree; and on separating these two from each other, it is generally found that one of them presents a simple and clear narrative, and that what is not simple and clear admits at all events of some explanation in the connection of the source where it is found. Thus, in chap. ii., there is *firstly*, an account of the first outburst of glossolaly, or the gift of tongues, in the Church; and interwoven with this by the compiler is the miraculous promulgation of the word in different languages, a quite different story, formed on the model of the Rabbinical tradition of the giving of the law to the nations. The former of these is set down to the source A, which is continuous with the third gospel, the second to source B, which now appears to be more inclined than A to miraculous representation. In chaps. vi. vii., to mention this example also of Mr Spitta's method, there is *firstly*, an account of a popular tumult, leading to the murder of Stephen by the populace, and the speech of Stephen is a part of this; and, *secondly*, an account of a judicial trial of Stephen before the Sanhedrin. The former is due to A, the latter to B. In the chapters from here to chap. xiii., A's narrative consists of a few verses merely, noting the diffusion of the Word outside Palestine in consequence of the persecution which arose about Stephen (chap. viii. 4 is repeated and



carried forward in chap. xi. 19), and saying nothing about Paul ; while in B the account of the conversion of Paul (chap. ix.) follows the death of Stephen, and there are then a whole set of narratives about the extension of the Gospel to the Gentiles by the activity of several of the apostles (chaps. viii. x. xi). In this way Mr Spitta gets his two sources, which he prints entire at the end of his volume in an admirable translation of his own.

Arrived at chap. xiii., where Acts takes up the history of Paul, not to return again to Jerusalem except with him, Mr Spitta has to consider whether there is a change of documents at this point, but concludes, as we have already indicated, that there is not, that A and B both embraced the whole period covered by Acts. And here the reader's feelings undergo a change. Up to this point Mr Spitta's dissection of Acts into two documents has tended to the removal of the difficulties criticism has raised about these narratives. In A we have a clear and matter-of-fact record, in which the success of the Gospel is ascribed to the preaching of the apostles, while the wonders and signs are mostly traced to the later source B, which makes the miracles of the apostles and the fear which fell on all who heard of them, the reason of the progress which was made. After this, however, the difficulties of the narrative of Acts are of another kind, and Mr Spitta's method does not so easily dispel them. How to reconcile the history Paul gives us in his own Epistles with the history we read in Acts is a problem no one can ignore, and for which the most various solutions have been found. The solution proposed in this volume is different from all its predecessors. In his source A, Mr Spitta claims that he presents us with a narrative which at no point conflicts with the apostle's own statements ; it is in B that statements are found which it is hard to harmonise with Paul ; but this result is attained by means which many will regard as very questionable, and the difficulties raised may turn out as formidable as those which have been disposed of.

Mr Spitta's contribution to this controversy must be allowed to be a notable one. He considers that extravagant consequences have been drawn from certain passages in Paul, especially the first two chapters of Galatians, and believes that that Epistle does not represent the normal temperature and conduct of Paul, but represents an episode in his life and in his thinking which was of sudden rise and short duration. In fact, he does not believe in that division in the early Church of which we have heard so much since Baur ; Paul had never any conflict with the heads of the Church at Jerusalem, he thinks ; it is not just to take Galatians as the normal expression of his mind ; there was not much difference, certainly no hostility, between him and the authorities at Jerusalem. This is what source A tells us of the subject, and Paul's epistles do not conflict with

this, not even Galatians ii. when Mr Spitta is the interpreter of that famous passage.

As regards outward matters, such as journeys and meetings, the method before us appears signally fitted to help in disentangling the well-known problems. Galatians only tells of two journeys to Jerusalem before the date of that Epistle, but Acts tells of three, in chaps. ix. xi. and xv. But if two of these journeys in Acts are parallels to each other, if the journey in xv. belongs to B, the later and less trustworthy source, and A's account of the same matter is that in chap. xi., then Acts also has only two journeys. This is here put forward as the truth of the matter. And if it be said that the visit to Jerusalem in chap. xi. comes before Paul's first missionary journey, while that in chap. xv. comes after it, we are met with the assertion that the visit of chap. xv. stood in B after chap. xii., and represents an agreement Paul came to with the apostles of Jerusalem before he set out at all on his more extensive travels. But the account in chap. xv. tallies with Galatians ii. much better than Acts xi. 30. This latter, A's account of the visit, seems to make it a very ordinary and matter-of-fact event rather than an event on which the fate of Gentile Christendom was suspended, and at which the two branches of the Church were seriously at variance. To meet this difficulty, an interpretation of Galatians ii. 1-10 is given, which is meant to show that the interviews there spoken of were not of the exciting and critical nature that nearly all scholars have supposed. This piece of interpretation we may say frankly has shaken our confidence in Mr Spitta's judgment more than anything else in his book. He makes the passage say that Paul made this journey because of a revelation made perhaps to others, perhaps to him, in the church at Antioch: that it was to Judea he went, not only to Jerusalem, and that he communicated his method of teaching the Gentiles to the heads of the churches in the villages of Judea; that Titus was circumcised, not, however, under compulsion, but voluntarily; that Paul laid no weight on any authority which might be conferred on him by persons of position (*ἀπὸ τῶν δοκοῦντων* dependent on *εἶναι τι*, not *vice versa*), that the *δοκοῦντες στυλοὶ εἶναι* of ver. 9 are not the same people as the *δοκοῦντες* of ver. 2. At any cost, the visit is to be made to appear not an anxious and momentous one, as to any ordinary reader it must appear to have been, but a very commonplace affair. And this in order that the passage in Acts xi. 30 may appear to relate to the same occasion.

With regard to the missionary procedure of Paul curious results are reached. It is found that the writer of the journal and the writer of the A source are the same person; and as the whole of the A source is thus traced to a companion of Paul, his narrative of the travels is placed above suspicion. Now, it is this writer, according

to Mr Spitta, who represents it as Paul's invariable custom on reaching a town to proceed to the synagogue and address the Jews and proselytes there. B, on the other hand, is found to represent Paul's practice differently. According to this source, he generally addressed himself first to the Gentiles; and where he is said by this source to have gone first to the Jews, as is done in several instances, it is in order to demonstrate by their unbelief the absolute necessity of turning to the Gentiles. Paul, in his Epistles, represents himself so decidedly as sent to the Gentiles, not to the Jews (*e.g.*, Rom. i. 14), that criticism has found it hard to think that he addressed himself habitually to the Jews before proceeding to address Gentiles; and should it be proved that the statements to that effect in Acts are by a companion of the Apostle, much that has been written, even by such scholars as Weiszäcker, will require to be revised. After this, we are prepared to find that Mr Spitta places in the source A, which he prefers, several of those statements in which Paul is reported to have complied with Jewish rites and practices.

The striking absence from Acts of all references to the troubles, known to us from the Epistles, in Galatia and Corinth, is explained by the assertion that the writer was not with Paul at the time when these troubles took place. It is certainly true that the narrative is full before this period and after it, but very scanty just at the period of the Epistles. We have not met in this book any attempt to account for the equally remarkable absence from Acts of specific Pauline doctrine. Mr Spitta believes that Paul and his doctrine occupy a larger space in the New Testament than their importance in the early Church would warrant; he also believes that the intense occupation with anti-Judaic doctrine, which marks the epistle to the Galatians, was episodic with Paul. That state of mind had passed away, it is here said, when Paul wrote to the Romans, and it was not an element of his thinking from the first, as Pfeiderer and others assert; he did not think Paulinism, in fact, if we may use such an expression, till the occasion arose for it. This appears to us to be a very weak part of Mr Spitta's construction. The Roman Epistle puts the argument against the way of salvation which the Jewish Christians favoured, as strongly if not so vehemently, as that to the Galatians, and it seems to us quite incredible that the system of thought which led him to reject that way of salvation could be an occasional or transitory growth in his mind. And how a travelling companion could keep a journal of Paul's proceedings, and write a narrative of them, without ever giving a hint of the thoughts which were characteristic of him, that is hard to understand; hard, too, to resign ourselves to the belief that such a reporter is to be taken as a fit witness on the subject, on any points beyond those of routes

and dates ; so that Paul's own writings should have to be construed as far as possible to harmonise with his report.

In the latter part of Acts source B becomes more scanty, yet his hand is recognised in the Ephesus stories of chap. xix., in the temple transactions, chap. xxi., the meeting of the Sanhedrin, chap. xxiii., and the meeting with the Jews at Rome in chap. xxviii. Altogether, Mr Spitta reckons in A forty sections, and in B forty-two, and finds twenty-four of each to be parallel to each other.

The questions on which the identification of sources throughout the work depends are of a nature and extent which precludes discussion of them in such a place as this. In many instances Mr Spitta appears successful in his detection of double narratives ; in many instances his result seems to us very doubtful. He confesses that no difference of vocabulary has been made out between his two sources, but intends to study this side of the question more fully. It is true, as he remarks, that if the circumstantial evidence identifying the two documents is satisfactory, the absence of difference in language cannot upset it, since the reviser may have assimilated his two sources to each other in this respect. In the meantime, till careful examination by those interested in the subject shall have tested Mr Spitta's results, they must be regarded with great caution. He has proved a very great deal according to his own estimate. He has provided not only a dissection of Acts complete from the beginning of the book to the end, but also a new theory of early Christianity, a new view of the life and work of the Apostle Paul, and interesting new lights on the growth of historical tradition about apostolic personages. Perhaps it will not all stand the test of time and of examination. But the book is one which cannot fail to help the study of Acts. It is an honest and earnest attempt, and will do something to hasten the time when the distressing doubts and difficulties which surround the subject will get themselves adjusted, and we shall know clearly, as far as the materials will suffer us to know, how the apostles lived and wrought.

ALLAN MENZIES.

### **Church and State in Scotland : A Narrative of the Struggle for Independence from 1560 to 1843.**

*The Third Series of Chalmers' Lectures. By the Rev. Thomas Brown, D.D., F.R.S.E. Edinburgh : Macniven & Wallace. 8vo, pp. 244. Price 7s. 6d.*

DR THOMAS BROWN'S name has hitherto been associated with the careful editing of those authentic memorials of 1843, which, collected into his *Annals of the Disruption*, form the best "memoirs to

subserve" the history of that great crisis. And now that he has passed the Moderator's chair of his Church, it was natural that it should lay upon him the more extended task here fulfilled. Dr Brown treats the question from a special point of view. The legal argument, and the Scriptural argument, for Scottish Church independence, he leaves as they have been stated by his predecessors, Sir Henry Moncrieff and Dr Wilson. Even the history, in so far as it merely proves that the Church always claimed to be independent, and occasionally made the claim good, he thinks it unnecessary to resume. But a question remains: What was the power and practical value of this independence in our history? Has it done anything in the development of Scotland? and, if so, what? The special object of these pages is to show that it has been a living force, influencing and moulding history in the past, and having therefore presumably important work in the future. Dr Brown carries out this in a lucid, measured, and weighty narrative, on which we have only one word of criticism. It accepts throughout the Scottish forms of thought, forms of theology, forms of law, and corresponding phraseology; and makes no attempt at comparison with the ideas of other countries across the Channel, or even across the Border. But then,—this falls in with the special purpose which he has set himself to work out. It is not the genesis, or even the value, of our Scottish ideas with which he deals. He has his own views upon these. But what he attempts and effects is to trace the dynamic results of these ideas upon the *subjecta materies*, the lump of nationality which, after so much hammering, still calls itself Scotland.

And in one point he goes beyond this programme, and sets forth—I think, for the first time, at least from the side of the Free Church—that the origination of its great movement was really in an important sense *ab extra*. It was even more so than Dr Brown has claimed, and the full investigation of the important view which he has initiated would bring the historian into the full stream and mid-channel of world history. For, in his view, the source of 1843 was the Voluntary controversy and the Reform movement of 1832. But the British Reform movement of 1832, with the Voluntary theory as part of it, was merely a belated wave of the great tide of European Revolution, which, first in 1789, then in 1830, and again in 1848, covered the topmost towers of Europe, and can never be said to have receded. When Dr Marshall of Kirkintilloch was opening the Voluntary controversy in Glasgow, Paris was listening to the protest of Liberalism against a Bourbon Charter which made Catholicism "the religion of the State." The words were struck out, and an assurance of equal protection to all *cultes* was substituted in the constitution. And from the position so attained,

France, amid all its changes and cataclysms, has never receded; while more recent years have seen first Germany, and then Austro-Hungary, move up in this matter alongside of it. The seed of it all came, of course, across the Atlantic with Lafayette, and it was our own older thinkers who dropped that seed in the hard New England soil. But all this is trite and acknowledged history, though transacted on the great scale; let us see Dr Brown's distinctly new contribution to his own country's chapter of it. The Voluntary controversy "whose history," our author says, "has never been written," was opened by a Synod sermon in April 1829. But this was only a preliminary step. "What really stirred it was the passing of the Reform Bill three years afterwards. Scotland had just been roused by a political agitation, which, at one time, came very near to becoming a Revolution. But the Reform Bill became law; the middle classes were enfranchised; among these Dissent was powerful, and the political ascendancy, identified with Moderatism, was overthrown. Old institutions were threatened all round; the advocates of Voluntaryism naturally availed themselves of their opportunity; the Edinburgh Voluntary Association was formed in September 1832, and similar societies arose all over the country. Five months afterwards—29th January 1833—a great meeting was held in Edinburgh, which I well remember, for I was present."

The way in which this movement outside the Establishment was the source of the subsequent movement inside it is deduced by our author partly from the current history, and partly from his own reminiscences. On one point the new Evangelical and the new Voluntary men were agreed—Dr Chalmers and Dr Wardlaw were alike. Church freedom was essential to Church life; and while the former denied and the latter asserted that such freedom was possible in the relation to the State and Parliament which is expressed by the word "Establishment," both were united in holding that, in the event of its turning out to be after all impossible, there must be immediate separation. "This was the truth which the Voluntary controversy drove home on the minds of men." How far the Scottish judges were right in their decision on what all Establishment implies, and how far the men of 1843 were right in holding that this produced the very *casus* in anticipation of which they had pledged themselves to their Voluntary friends,—on points such as these we make no enquiry here. But the result was at last a memorable sacrifice to conscience. And Dr Brown, who has already done so much to reproduce its glow, may be congratulated on having shown in these lectures how, years if not generations before the flame was kindled, the fuel was piled upon the hearth.

A. TAYLOR INNES.

**Georgs des Araberbischofs Gedichte und Briefe.**

*Aus dem Syrischen übersetzt und erläutert von V. Ryssel, Ord. Professor der Theologie in Zürich. 1891. Leipzig: S. Hirzel. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Svo, pp. xx. 240. Price M. 7.*

IN this valuable monograph, Professor Ryssel does not break fresh ground. In the year 1883 he published in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* a translation of the greater part of the most important specimen of George's epistolary remains, which was afterwards published separately under the title "A Letter of George, Bishop of the Arabs, to the Presbyter Jesus." The original Syriac had been published as far back as 1858 by the late Professor de Lagarde in his *Analecta Syriaca*. The attractive personality of the scholarly bishop, we are informed in the preface to the work before us, so captivated his translator that he resolved to make accessible to all whom it might concern the whole of the former's original work, to the exclusion, that is, of the otherwise important translations which George made of eminent Greek authors, notably of Aristotle.<sup>1</sup> We have accordingly in the first hundred and forty-five pages of this closely printed volume, each page of which contains the same amount of matter as a page of Dillmann's commentaries, a translation of the poems and letters of George, the latter distributed according to contents under the various heads of Church History, Exegesis, History of Doctrine, &c. The remainder of the volume, less than one-half of the whole, is mainly occupied with notes of the utmost value to all students of Syriac literature, in which obscurities are cleared up, difficulties explained, and information supplied regarding earlier writers quoted or referred to by the learned bishop. To the whole is prefixed a sketch of the life of the "Bishop of the Arabs"—more precisely of the Arab nomads on the borders of Mesopotamia—from which we learn that he was a native of the diocese of Antioch, was born *circa* 640 A.D., became a pupil of the Syrian Jerome, Jacob of Edessa, whose Hexaëmeron he completed on his master's death, was consecrated in 686, and finally died in the year 724 A.D. Full justice is done by Professor Ryssel to the ability and learning, the critical insight and methods, and the *bonhomie* of Jacob's most distinguished pupil, and the result is a picture of an interesting and lovable personality.

Beyond the letter to the Presbyter Jesus or Joshua, above referred to, none of the poems or writings now translated have as yet been published in the original. The translator, however, is able to make the welcome announcement in his preface that the *Academia*

<sup>1</sup> See article "Syriac Literature" in the *Encycl. Brit.* (9th edit.) p. 841a.

dei Lincei is about to publish the two longest of George's poems in its "Transactions," and Professor Lagarde had also signified his intention of bringing out a complete edition of the bishop's works.

As regards the contents and arrangements of Professor Ryssel's book, a brief indication must here suffice. We have first of all a translation of his two poems on "The Monks' Mode of Life," and (this in a longer and a shorter form) on "The Consecration of the Chrism." These poems may be of little artistic merit, but they are documents of great value for the history of monasticism, and of the sacraments of the Eastern Church. George's most important contribution to Church History, however, is his above-mentioned letter to the Presbyter Joshua, in the first three chapters of which (pp. 44-54) he answers the latter's inquiries regarding the mysterious "Persian Sage," now known as Aphraates, who also bore the name of Jacob. Prior to Lagarde's publication of this letter nothing was known of this "earliest Father of the Syrian Church" beyond three brief references by writers of whom the oldest dates from the tenth century (Bar-Bahlul).<sup>1</sup>

George was equally without reliable information regarding Aphraates, and in his reply to Joshua he sets himself to examine and appreciate the evidence of the documents themselves with all the patience and learning, and much of the critical ability, of a "higher critic" of the present day. Another chapter from the same letter, which the historian of the Eastern Church cannot afford to neglect, is the fifth (Ryssel, p. 54-58), on the life and teaching of Gregory, "the Apostle of the Armenians," generally known to us by his surname, Illuminator.

Of less importance are George's explanations of passages from Ephraem and other Fathers, while, on the other hand, the student of the Christological controversies that have been the bane of the Syrian Church, and of the other doctrinal developments of the period, will be rewarded by a study of George's letters. They are of special importance, to give but a single example, for the proper estimate of the influence of the Pseudo-Dionysius and his characteristic doctrines.

It only remains to congratulate Professor Ryssel on the manner in which he has executed his self-imposed task. His monograph is a model of German thoroughness and accuracy, as was to be expected

<sup>1</sup> See Wright's edition of the "Homilies of Aphraates" (1869). As this scholar refers for the citations from Barhebraeus and Ebed-Jesu to the costly and to many inaccessible *Bibliotheca Orientalis* of Assemani, I may perhaps give here a reference for the former to Abbeloos and Lamy's edition of his *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum* (Louvain, 1877) vol. iii. pp. 33, 34 (*cf.* vol. i. p. 85, 86), and for the latter, to the small Roman edition of 1653, p. 54, 55. For full title see Nestle's *Literatura* in my translation of his Syriac Grammar.



from one who, with some three or four others, stands in the first rank of the Syriac scholars of the Fatherland, to one of whose Universities we may hope soon to welcome his return.

ARCH. R. S. KENNEDY.

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**Une Nouvelle Conception de la Rédemption : La Doctrine de la Justification et de la Reconciliation dans le Système Théologique de Ritschl.**

*Par Ernest Bertrand, D.D. Paris Librairie Fischbacher.  
8vo, pp. 505. Price not stated.*

**Der Evangelische Glaube und die Theologie A. Ritschl's.**

*Rectoratsrede v. W. Herrmann. Marburg, 1890.  
8vo, pp. 31.*

**Der Glaubensact des Christen, nach Begriff und Fundament.**

*Untersucht von Eduard König. Erlangen u. Leipsic, Deichert Nachf.  
8vo, pp. vi. 173. Price M. 3.*

RITSCHL's theological influence is no longer merely in the air. It has gone farther. Already its effect is perceived in the thoughts and words of not a few religious teachers in several Protestant lands and Churches, more or less aware of the source whence it proceeds. For all professed theologians the movement has a keen interest. This turns mainly on the fact that Ritschlianism presents a positive reconstruction of Protestant theology, instead of that mere disintegration of its established doctrines with which modern divergents from orthodoxy have hitherto wholly occupied themselves, when they touch on theology at all. The keener, therefore, because of this, its higher and worthier aim, has been the criticism to which the new theology has itself been subjected. The attacks upon it are already numberless, and from all sides of the ecclesiastical field. Within the German Church, divines of such mark as Frank from the side of the firmest Lutheranism, as Lipsius and Pfleiderer from that of the more recent Liberalism, have made it the subject of elaborate brochures. There is something to be gained, however, by viewing it with Dr Bertrand, from the more neutral standpoint of another Evangelical Church. We have here an examination of it conducted in the calm and lucid style of the best French Protestant school.

The introduction contains a condensed notice of Ritschl's own theological work, together with some allusion to that of his best-

known followers, such as W. Herrmann, H. Schultz, Kaftan, and Harnack. In the body of the book there is (1) an impersonal and impartial account of the leading Ritschlian positions; then (2) a fair and patient discussion of their merit. This critical part gives first a brief exposition of the philosophical and theological postulates of the system; then a discussion, partly exegetical and partly dogmatic, of the ideas of Justification and Reconciliation set forth in Ritschl's well-known masterpiece; and, finally, a reply to his attack on the evangelical doctrine of expiation. To give more detail would only be to anticipate what readers will find in the treatise itself.

The attractive characteristics of this new theology are already known to a wide circle of theological readers. To have what is professedly an entirely fresh believing system of Christian doctrine expounded with the force of intense conviction, and with the ethical glow which it takes from the lips of such a living teacher as W. Herrmann, is no common delight. Its prominent features in the hands of all its best representatives are—its peculiar (Neo-Kantian?) epistemology, its rejection from the Christian doctrines themselves of all alien philosophy—the purely positive (*i.e.*, unspeculative) foundation on which it seeks to build them—*viz.*, the revelation of God embodied in the historical Jesus—its emphasis on the moral elements in the Christian religion—its promise to entrench the Christian within the certainties of his redeemed consciousness, so as to secure his belief undisturbed by all changes which advancing discovery in Science and Criticism may bring about. In common with most who have subjected the system to any searching examination, Dr Bertrand finds these professed advantages, in too many cases, illusory. He has entered with considerable detail into the refutation of the several doctrinal positions. Most evangelical thinkers will recognise as the most patent defects of a system professing to be Biblical and evangelical its treatment of the Divine character and of human sin; above all, its omission of the spiritual centre of the Reformers' doctrine of personal salvation—Union to Christ—and the undue prominence given, instead, to the fellowship of the Christian community.

After a candid, and on the whole just, analysis of his theology, the writer concludes with this brief estimate of Ritschl's true magnitude as a theological figure. "The theology itself is not so new nor so original as its disciples would have us think. Its theories of the Kingdom of God, of Reconciliation, of the Church had been developed and formulated long before by Menken, Schöberlein, and Schleiermacher. But what constitutes the originality of the Göttingen theologian is the comprehension and force with which he binds together his philosophical, exegetical, and dogmatic

conceptions into one vigorous and compact *fasciculus*. In an epoch like ours, which in the region of religious thought shows such an exhaustion of creative power, believers ought to hail with gratitude the name of a theologian who has won by his labours the respect and esteem of contemporary thinkers. Amid the superb disdain entertained by philosophers in our day towards Christianity, one is glad to meet a man of the courage of Ritschl, who proclaims so distinctly the high intellectual and moral authority of the Divine Word, and who bows down so entirely before the clear and solid teaching of our Lord and His apostles. This 'good confession' witnessed to Biblical revelation by a savant of such breadth and celebrity attests the eternal youth and unconquerable vitality of the Christian Religion."

GERMAN theologians of any aspiration invariably think themselves bound to prove their spiritual descent from Luther by bringing up, in some form, his Doctrine of Faith. Ritschlians claim this infallible mark *par excellence*. The topic of Faith bulks largely in all utterances, especially from the right wing of that movement. Herrmann's "*Gewissheit des Glaubens*," &c. (second edition, 1889), and his last year's Rectoral Address to his own University of Marburg, are among the most recent of these utterances—the latter characterised by more than all its author's characteristic eloquence. Herrmann's main positions are, that Christian faith rests upon no external evidence, upon no course of argument, not even upon the testimony of the Bible, but is itself created by its object, Jesus Christ, and is a direct Divine working upon the believing subject himself. It is, therefore, its own evidence, identical in certainty with one's own experience — is, in short, an element of the Christian's own existence.

IN König's compact brochure these main positions of the more evangelical Ritschlianism are carefully examined. This short treatise, indeed, professes to be a complete review of the whole question concerning Christian or Saving faith in its Idea and Ground, as that has been a living problem in the Evangelical Church ever since the Reformation. The review is so comprehensive and up to date as to range from the description of Faith in Melancthon's *Loci* down to Canon Scott Holland's paper on Faith in *Lux Mundi*. But it is evident that the utterances of Herrmann and other Ritschlians have been its main occasion. The two fallacies of the new view are well handled. The one is the confounding of the evidences with the Object of faith, and the other of faith itself with its results. The Supreme Object creates the faith, no doubt; but there is a denial of any reasonable process

or evidence through which the Object is revealed. The experience which results from faith is, no doubt, its best seal and confirmation; but the act of believing and the resulting life are not the same. This doctrine of "Faith" is not so much mistaken as mystified, wrapt in a luminous haze which renders all definite outline imperceptible.

J. LAIDLAW.

### **Lehrbuch der Symbolik.**

*Von Dr G. F. Oehler, in 2ter Auflage von Th. Hermann. Stuttgart: Steinkopf. 8vo, pp. xii. 707. Price M. 11.*

SINCE its first publication sixteen years ago, this Compend of Comparative Creed-findings has held its ground in Germany as the best hand-book on the subject. Even the treatises of Philippi (1883), Kattenbusch (1890), and H. Schmidt (1890), which have appeared since, cannot be said to have superseded it. Indeed, the second author named unhesitatingly declares it to be still the best for its purpose. In form the book was posthumous, consisting of the lectures which its well-known author was wont to deliver in the course of his professorial work; but these were evidently left in far more complete and compact shape than (*e.g.*) those other lectures of his on "Old Testament Theology," which have, nevertheless, been to us in their English dress (Clark, 1874-75) so welcome and suggestive. The first edition of the present work was prepared by Dr Oehler's pupil Johann Delitzsch, the too early taken son of the revered Leipzig Professor. The slight additions made by him to the original work mainly bear upon modern Romish controversy; and more particularly consist of a brief estimate of the symbolic significance of the Vatican Council (1870), which had not come under the review of the Tübingen Professor himself, for Oehler's last semesters fell during its session. The present edition is brought well up to date. Its enhanced value arises mainly from the labour bestowed in verifying, improving, and extending the references which in such a work must be unusually numerous. To the conscientious worker this brings a sure, though a tardy reward, so little marked as it is to the eye upon a mere cursory perusal. The editorial additions are pretty numerous on minor points. Noticeable for its fresh interest is the use made of recent investigations, such as those of Caspari and Harnack, in reference to the date and character of The Apostles' Creed. This use is in the direction of carrying its authority nearer than some former critics have done to the first Christian age. Dissent is expressed, however, from the Romish view that the *Apostolicum* is independent of Scripture, derived

perhaps (as Grundtvig suggests) by oral tradition from words of the Risen Saviour to His disciples. "Tradition, no doubt," says the editor, "it is, and as such acknowledged even by the Evangelical Churches, but tradition not standing over against Scripture,—rather fully and entirely created by it."

With exception of the ample and able work of Dr Schaff we have nothing in English that furnishes students with material for the entire study of Symbolism. And even beside Dr Schaff's three volumes, there is room for a work like this, were it translated, where in the compass of one readable volume, could be seen at a glance the main facts pertaining to the formation of the Creeds and Confessions of Christendom; and, what is of more moment, a condensed view is given of the aid to the study of doctrine to be derived from their comparison and contrast. Winer's "Comparative View" is no longer adequate to the needs of our generation in this field.

The three prefaces to this hand-book, that of Johann Delitzsch, the note by his renowned father, and the introductory words of the present editor are specimens of the kindly human glow which good Teutonic writers can, on occasion, mingle with their most abstruse and unemotional researches.

JOHN LAIDLAW.

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### **Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte.**

*Von Dr Wilhelm Möller, Ord. Professor der Kirchengeschichte in Kiel.  
Zweiter Band. Das Mittelalter; Erste und Zweite Hälften.  
Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh: Williams &  
Norgate. Svo, pp. 560. Price M. 13.*

THIS second volume (in two "Hälften") of Möller's excellent "Lehrbuch" of the History of the Church embraces the too much neglected but profoundly interesting and important period of the Middle Ages. The author's plan leads him to draw the line between ancient and mediæval Christianity at Gregory the Great (590). The mediæval period then extends to the close of the fifteenth century, and includes four main divisions—I. From Gregory the Great till Charlemagne; II. From Charlemagne till the middle of the eleventh century; III. From the middle of the eleventh century till the death of Boniface VIII. in 1303 (the "flowering time" of the Papacy and of the mediæval Church system); and IV. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The history of the torpid and unproductive Greek Church in these several periods is easily disposed of, though sufficient space is given to leading events and movements (Mohammedanism, Monothelitism, Image controversies). The rich

and comprehensive development of the Western Church occupies the larger part of the volume. Here also it seemed at first as if Christianity was about to perish through the infection of the rude vigour of the Germanic kingdoms with the corruption of the old civilisation. In this connection, Möller pays a striking tribute to the part played by our own islands in the regeneration of religion on the Continent. "The mission from the British Islands," he says, "scatters anew the Christian seed, acts upon the Church of the Frankish kingdom, and lays the Christian foundations in Germany and Friesland. Gregory the Great's work, the mission among the Anglo-Saxons, creates a powerful factor of Christian culture. Hence proceeds Boniface, whose activity coincides with a new great elevation of the Frankish kingdom under the Pepinides, and has for its result that inner penetration also of German political life with the institutions of the Romish Church on which the further development of the Christian West rests" (p. 2). The sketch of the ancient British and Scoto-Irish Churches themselves is brief but adequate, putting all the main points clearly before the reader (pp. 40-45). The body of the work is a marvel of condensed learning. The author has an enormous mass of material to deal with, but keeps it well in hand, and pursues a clear and easily followed path. In orderly, consecutive, readily apprehensible statement, we have no hesitation in saying that his book is a great improvement on the manual of Kurtz—the work with which it most invites comparison. All along the route it bristles with points of interest. Just prominence is given to the mediæval missions, the rise of the monastic orders, the development of church institutions (diocesan episcopacy, parishes, rise of national churches, &c.). On these last points comparison should be made with Dr Hatch's chapters on the same subjects. Attention should be given to the admirable statement of the mediæval Papal theory on pp. 285-291. The limited space at the author's command does not prevent a tolerably full and able statement of the system of that great mediæval thinker—John Scotus Erigena (pp. 187-189). The notices of the schoolmen and mystics are also apt and to the point so far as they go. Finally, the movements of Wickliffe and Huss, and the work of the so-called reforming councils, are carefully and adequately sketched. Thorough knowledge, clear method, lucid statement, a power of seizing and distinctly exhibiting the main points in a period or movement—these are the qualities in this book which are likely to put it in the front rank among our text-books of Church History. It would be well if it could soon be produced in an English dress. We regret to observe the intimation of the gifted author's decease on January 8th, 1892.

JAMES ORR.

## **Das Verhältniss des Thomas von Aquino zum Judenthum und zur jüdischen Litteratur.**

*Von Dr J. Guttman, Landrabbiner zu Hildesheim. Göttingen:  
Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.  
8vo, pp. 92. Price M. 2.40.*

DR GUTTMANN'S monograph is an interesting study in the theology of the Middle Ages. The main object of the writer is to show how largely the Angelic Doctor—the greatest scholastic theologian—availed himself of the philosophical and theological works of Jewish scholars. Protestants have always been ready to acknowledge the indebtedness of the Reformers of the sixteenth century to the Jewish grammarians and exegetes of the Middle Ages. Dr Guttman shows that, in the domain of dogmatics, the greatest pre-Reformation theologian was not slow to draw from Jewish sources.

The author divides his subject into three parts:—

- I. Thomas Aquinas and Judaism.
- II. The relation of Thomas Aquinas to the philosophy of Gabirol.
- III. The relation of Thomas Aquinas to the religio-philosophic system of Maimonides.

The most interesting part of the discussion is that which deals with the relation of Aquinas to Maimonides. The latter was an ardent disciple of Aristotle. Early in the thirteenth century the philosophy of Aristotle became popular among the Christian schoolmen. And the problem before Maimonides and Thomas was practically the same—to harmonise Aristotle and the Bible. In the *Moreh Nebhuchim*, Maimonides devoted to the accomplishment of that task all the resources of the most profound thinker and ablest dialectician of the Middle Ages. His work became a storehouse for the Christian scholastics of the thirteenth century; and Dr Guttman's little volume shows the free use of the *Moreh* on the part of Aquinas, and the close agreement on many important questions between the Christian Doctor and the Jewish Rabbi. Of course, like other doctors, these great men differed—as in respect to the divine attributes, the divine knowledge, and other matters. It could scarcely have been otherwise, considering the point of view of the Christian theologian as compared to that of the Jewish Rabbi. But when the Rabbi's conclusions are not accepted, his opinions are referred to with the utmost respect.

At the basis of the philosophy and theology of both Aquinas and Maimonides lay the doctrine of Revelation; and on this subject these great men followed Saadiah—the first learned Jew who made any serious attempt on a large scale to harmonise the rising

philosophy of the Arabian schools with the teaching of Scripture. In any such attempt a foremost place was required for human reason. And Saadiah, loyally accepting, as he did, the divine revelation given through prophets and others, and clinging to the position of the Talmudists, felt called on to show, on the one side, that there was no contradiction or disagreement between revelation and reason, and, on the other, that revelation was not superfluous, that it stood in a very important practical relation to reason, and, in the interest of reason itself, could not be dispensed with. His view was very much this: that revelation was the full, perfect expression of reason. The one was in complete harmony with the other. The truth taught in revelation, and the truth attained by reason were one and the same. Why, then, a revelation at all? was the question. For a purpose worthy of God, and of the highest importance to man, replied Saadiah. The aim of revelation was to help man to a speedy attainment of results, for which otherwise long periods of broken research would have been required. The revelation not merely communicated truth, but it imparted such an impulse to the human mind, in its search for truth, as carried it easily over what might otherwise have impeded its progress for ages.

Perhaps the most interesting question raised by Dr Guttmann is that concerning prophecy. The learned doctor bestows unstinted praise on Maimonides' treatment of this subject. The Jewish Rabbi appears to have held that every person is endowed with the gift of prophecy. The faculty must be properly cultivated, but the prophetic message is within the reach of the natural powers. It is required, indeed, that the mind be carefully trained, that the physical constitution, the moral character, and especially the imagination, be as perfect as possible. The man in whom these conditions are realised requires, further, the divine call, in order to the active exercise of the prophetic gift. The question at once arises, Why should the divine call be necessary in order to the use of a natural endowment, while no natural impediment blocked the way? There is no answer, unless it be this, that Maimonides was, in his heart, as loyal to the faith of his fathers as to the philosophy of Aristotle, and that the task he set himself was beyond even his remarkable powers. It occurs to us to ask why, if every man is endowed with the faculty of prophecy, there have been comparatively so few prophets? On Maimonides' ground the answer will be that Carlyle was not a prophet in the proper sense, because of his bilious constitution; nor Byron, because of his loose views on morals; nor Bunyan, because of his want of education. As for Socrates, Plato, Buddha, Confucius, and such like—well, if no moral or physical flaw can be proved, all that can be said is that God indirectly prevented them from prophesying, in the strict



sense, by not calling them to the exercise of the prophetic function.

Maimonides' view of prophecy is broad enough to cover the most rationalistic theories of modern times. The great Christian scholastic does not agree with him on some important points. Dr Guttmann does not dwell on the differences. But he has rendered a valuable service in showing the influence exercised in the Christian Church by the founder of rationalism in modern times—the great Rabbi of whom it was said—"From Moses to Moses there was none like Moses."

Did Aquinas, while freely availing himself of the labours of Jewish scholars, share the prejudices of his time against the Jewish race? It would be fair to urge that an active part in those persecutions of the Jews, which were the disgrace of the age to which Aquinas belonged, would be specially unbecoming and blameworthy on the part of one who owed so much to the leaders of Jewish thought. But, on the other side, it would be unreasonable to expect that Aquinas should be altogether beyond his age on the general question of the treatment of the Jews. In point of fact, while Thomas, in his teaching, accepted, and when called upon, defended the regulations from time to time issued by the Church with regard to the treatment of the Jews, personally he appears to have been entirely free from that hatred of the Jews which was a prominent feature of the history of his day.

The general principle seems to have been that the Jews were the slaves of the Church, and that the Church was entitled to dispose of her property as she deemed best—a principle wide enough to serve the selfish purposes of many of those who took the lead in the persecution of the Jews. A multitude of questions arose in connection with these unfortunate children of Israel. Usury, of course, was a frequent subject of discussion. This is how Aquinas deals with it. Usury is forbidden to the faithful. Interest is not to be offered for a loan of money, because the man who offers interest, for the sake of a selfish advantage, provides an opportunity for the usurer, and shares his sin. This might seem to settle the point; but the practice of borrowing and lending money was far too general to be got rid of by a piece of dialectic. Some justification of the state of things which prevailed was required, and the casuistry of the Middle Ages was equal to the occasion. Thus, no man may lead his neighbour to sin. But a man may use the sin of his neighbour for a good end, as God uses the sin of man. No man may lead a neighbour to the practice of usury; but if a man finds a neighbour practising usury, he may take a loan for a good end. Ergo: Q.E.D.; the end justifies the means.

On many of the questions raised in connection with the Jews,

Aquinas was not in advance of his contemporaries. But Dr Guttman gives him full credit for a sympathy with the Jews, and a breadth of view in dealing with them, rarely met with at the time. Especially important for the Jews was Aquinas' position that no Jewish minor was to be baptised, and that no compulsion should be used with the view of converting Jews to the Christian faith. It is a pity that Aquinas could not have been transferred from his chair in Paris to the camp of his contemporaries, the Teutonic Knights, who, while the Angelic doctor was preaching toleration in behalf of the Jews, were compelling the Prussians to accept Christianity at the point of the sword.

GEO. G. CAMERON.

ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑ εἰς τὴν ΚΑΙΝΗΝ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΝ ὑπὸ Ν. Μ.  
ΔΑΜΑΛΑ. τόμος Β'. Ἐν Ἀθήναις.

*Large 8vo, pp. 1048. Price 15s.*

A PATHETIC interest attaches to this work. It bears the date 1892 on the title-page, and the year had little more than begun when Professor Damalas died suddenly in the train while returning from his morning bath at Phalerum. It adds to the pathos to know, from the preface, that after the publication of the first volume of his Commentary, which was of the nature of an Introduction to the New Testament, he had to wait sixteen years for the means to publish the second, now in our hands. Just when, through the generous help of Mr John Stephen Sculises (Ἰωάννης Στέφανος Σκυλίτσης) of Chios, and others, including the brothers Ralli, he had been enabled to issue the second volume, containing the first half of the Synoptic Gospels, and to cherish the hope of proceeding uninterruptedly with the Commentary as far as the Book of Revelation, the learned author has been cut off, and his great work, the only attempt at a Commentary in modern Greek on an extensive scale, will, it is to be feared, remain a *torso*. This is deeply to be regretted for the sake both of sacred learning and of religion. For the sake of religion, because the issue of a Commentary so learned and sober and practical from the bosom of the Greek Church, even though by a Greek Churchman so pronounced as Professor Damalas, is not only of itself a hopeful sign, but is also calculated to awaken Christian interest, where it is but little to be found at present,—among the more cultured classes of Athens and Greece. For the sake of sacred learning the loss of Professor Damalas is much to be regretted. As Professor of Hermeneutics in the University of Athens, and a man of extensive scholarship and reading, he was singularly

well-fitted to bring to bear upon the New Testament and the elucidation of its Hellenistic Greek the lexical and grammatical usages and other distinctive features of modern Greek. He uses in this Commentary the literary idiom exclusively, and, as far as the mere matter of Greek is concerned, while we read his Commentary, we might think we were reading Cramer's *Catena*.

This volume of the Commentary deals with the first half of the Synoptic Gospels, taking up the parallel passages, and following the order of a Gospel harmony. The first section contains the narrative of the birth and childhood, with the genealogy of Jesus Christ as contained in Luke i.-iii., and Matthew i., ii.; the second section comprises the narrative of the preaching of the forerunner, and of "the fore-anointing of our God and Saviour for His preaching" (τῆς εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα προαλείψεως τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν); and the third, the narrative of the Saviour's preaching and His miracles in Galilee and the parts around, which carries us to the Walking on the Sea, and the close of the present volume. This last section has no fewer than twenty-eight subdivisions, containing the parallel passages with a verse by verse exposition. The Commentary is a work highly creditable to the author, whose scholarship is both extensive and accurate, whose fairness and candour, so far as we have been able to judge, are unimpeachable, and whose tone is reverent and practical throughout.

He is well versed in Textual Criticism, and seems, for the most part, though not always, to follow the best MSS. authorities. In the Lord's Prayer, for example, he declines to accept ἀφῃκαμεν, and prefers ἀφίεμεν, more, it would appear, on subjective grounds. But he omits the doxology, regarding it as a liturgical addition. "It strengthens this supposition," he says, "that in the public saying of the Lord's Prayer (κατὰ τὴν ἀπαγγέλιαν), the people say it always as far as 'but deliver us from evil,' showing thereby that the prayer stops at this point; but the priest adds the doxology, the meaning of which is, that we ask all these things from God because His is the Kingdom, &c. It was very likely introduced at the end of the prayer at the close of the Apostolic period, according to the custom of the Apostles, who added a doxology after every prayer (Rom. xi. 36; xvi. 27; Gal. i. 5; 1 Pet. iv. 11; and other passages); and the doxology was the one customary among the Jews (1 Chronicles xxix. 11), added by the priest after the Lord's prayer as its appropriate completion."

In the Lord's Prayer, also, his comment upon the much-disputed ἐπιούσιον is of interest. His view of the radical import of the word appears to be original. After quoting Origen to the effect that the word occurs in no Greek author, nor yet in common parlance, but seems to have been coined by the Evangelists for the

occasion, he remarks that "the word has been devised to express in Greek an idea which the Saviour conceived (*διετύπωσεν*) in Hebrew. This Hebrew expression was, we suppose, *לחם חיו* or *לחם חיה* (from *חיה* or *חיה* = to be [subsist], or to live); and this expression, 'Our bread which is necessary for our existence or our life,' the Evangelists translated by *ἐπιούσιος*, a compound of *ἐπὶ* and *οὐσία*—that is, *ἐπὶ οὐσία* (*λαμβάνόμενος*); like *ἐπιζήμιος*—that is, *ἐπὶ ζήμια* (*γινγνόμενος*); *ἐπιμίσθιος*—that is, *ἐπὶ μισθῷ* (*ἐργαζόμενος*); and so on. It means, therefore, the bread taken *διὰ τὴν ὑπαρξιν*, *διὰ τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν*, the bread indispensable to existence and life." Damalas, however, does not adopt this view without discussing with learning and acuteness the legion of explanations which have been offered—such as the *supersubstantialem* of Jerome, the *to-morrow's bread* suggested by Ambrose, and adopted by Meyer and other moderns, &c. In the Lord's Prayer, too, it is worthy of notice, he follows the early Greek commentators Origen, Chrysostom, and Theophylact, and like our Revisers, gives *τοῦ ποιηροῦ* a personal reference.

It is only natural that we should find a doctrinal colouring derived from the author's connection with the Eastern Church. It is no more, however, than we should expect of a convinced and devout layman, as Damalas was. He vindicates the perpetual virginity of Mary in an exhaustive discussion of *πρωτότοκος*, but he has many Protestant commentators with him in this, including, if we mistake not, Bishop Lightfoot. It is interesting to meet with *ἡ Θεοτόκος*, *ὁ Θεάνθρωπος*, and other expressions which recall the doctrinal controversies of the early days of the Eastern Church. All the same, the Commentary shows abundant references to the Hebrew Scriptures as well as to the Septuagint, quoted as *οἱ Ο΄*.; and a copious use of Augustine and other Fathers of the Western Church, of Luther and Calvin, of De Wette, Meyer, and other modern commentators. No English scholar is named, as far as we have observed.

It is sad that this Commentary, the great undertaking of his life, should now be his memorial; but, fragment as it is, it is, in point of conception and execution, so far as it goes, not unworthy to represent, towards the close of the nineteenth century, the noble array of Greek commentators of the early centuries, whose lineal escendant he is.

THOMAS NICOL.

## Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur.

Leipzig : J. C. Hinrichs.

*Band VII. Heft 2. Ueber das gnostische Buch Pistis-Sophia.* Brod und Wasser ; die eucharistischen Elemente bei Justin. 2 Untersuchungen von Adolf Harnack. Pp. iv. 144. Price M. 4.50.  
*Band IV. Heft 2. Athenagoræ libellus pro Christianis, Oratio de resurrectione cadaverum. Recensuit Eduardus Schwartz.* Pp. xxxii. 143. Price M. 3.60.

THIS valuable series of critical studies, begun in 1882 under the editorship of Gebhardt and Harnack, now needs no introduction to students of Early Church History. The first of those here noticed is the complement of Köstlin's discussion of the system underlying the *Pistis-Sophia* ("Theologische Jahrbücher," 1854), seeing that this deals only with its historical aspects—i.e., its position as regards (1) the New Testament and the gospel history, (2) the Old Testament and citations therefrom, (3) Biblical Exegesis, (4) ordinary Christian and "Catholic" elements. These, together with certain distinctive contributions, pave the way to the final question of the age and circle from which the book sprang.

Under the first of these heads, spite of peculiar features, such as accounts of Christ's childhood (where His union with the Spirit is somewhat grotesquely described on the basis of Psalm lxxxv. 11, 12), and of His intercourse with the disciples in the twelfth year after the Resurrection—due probably to the use of a secondary source—Harnack concludes that our four gospels, in a form at least nearer our present text than is Justin, held in our author's eyes a unique position of dignity. And this position is shared by the Pauline Epistles.

As to the Old Testament, his attitude is not other than that of the Church at large ; only he recognises grades among its different parts, the Psalms being his favourite type. But here emerges a noteworthy fact. He cites on a level with the Davidic Psalter not only the (Jewish) "Psalms of Solomon," but also five (Gnostic) Psalms or Odes otherwise unknown, framed on the model of our Psalter in a spirit but slightly coloured by Gnosis, and evidently regarded by our author as both Solomonian and "canonical." Harnack assigns them to c. 100-150 A.D., and to a non-Valentinian source ; recognising in them another instance of the tendency, seen in Barnabas, to christianise the Old Testament (see his *Dogmengeschichte*, I. 100 f.). As might be surmised, the Biblical exegesis of the *Pistis-Sophia* is arbitrary in the extreme, being based on the idea

that the Scripture text is ἐν παραβολῇ, and needs Gnosis to render it ἐν παρησίᾳ. In this, however, it was not peculiar. All through the second century the Church had lost the key to its Bible, and was vainly fumbling with the lock. "Irenæus and Origen were the first to effect a change, and that incompletely." But it is upon its noteworthy anticipations of "Catholicism" that Harnack lays most stress. Here, as generally, Gnosis is the pioneer of the Church; and its mistakes are essentially those of the pioneer as he breaks fresh ground. Here, moreover, we get Gnosis telling its own story directly, and not through the medium of its critics. The resultant impressions are given as follows:—"Its whole Christianity consists in expiations (penitential prayers) and sacraments (mysteries): both derive their certainty and power from the person Jesus Christ." Again, "it must be apostolic; its doctrines must rest upon authentic apostolic sayings—upon words of the Lord through the apostles." Thus the Pistis-Sophia is a sort of "Teaching of the Lord through the Apostles." But the contents show that, in its eagerness to confront new problems with real apostolic tradition, Gnosis, as also the ἐκκλησιαστικὴ παράδοσις, fell victim to a large element of pious "legal fiction," when it naïvely assumed that what was found in *current* tradition was the unchanged "faith once for all delivered." This Harnack illustrates at length from the twin spheres of metaphysics and of "mystery" sentiments as to the sacraments. A "physical" notion of the grace in the latter seems implied, at least at times (pp. 61 f. 91 f.); but emphasis is laid on the fact that they avail even for *sinners*. And this is in keeping with the impression produced—for example, by the dialogues between Christ and Mary Magdalene (the chief of His disciples, not excepting the otherwise favoured John), namely, that the religious interest is at the bottom of all its speculations. Among points of a unique order may be noted the signs of a scholastic sort of *glossolalia* (p. 89), also "the institution of a kind of penitential sacrament" (μυστήριον ἀληθείας βαπτίσματος), typical of a strong tendency in the third century.

Proceeding to discuss its origin, date, and place, Harnack first distinguishes pp. 1-357 as the book of "Queries of Mary and the Disciples as to penitence and forgiveness, together with the Lord's replies," from 357-390, a separate work on "the institution of the penitence-sacrament," emanating, however, from the same circle. Then starting with its general character as the Christianity of "expiative sacraments, penitence, and *askesis*," he fixes the *terminus ad quem* as 302 A.D. (*i.e.*, a time of possible though not actual legal persecution), and the *term. a quo* as 140 A.D. (*i.e.*, earliest date for the four Gospels and Pauline Epistles as Holy Scripture). And finally narrows the period down to 250-300, preferably c. 260-275,

when the Novatian crisis had emphasised the problems of penance and reconciliation. By a further train of reasoning as to the type of syncretistic gnosis characteristic of the book, he skilfully uses Epiphanius to show that it originated among the Archontikoi, a branch of the Sethites in Lower Egypt. The monograph closes with the remark that the *Pistis-Sophia* thus adds a chapter to the history of the genesis of sacramentarian Catholicism.

The main positions of the singularly suggestive study entitled "Bread and Water, the Eucharistic Elements in Justin," may be given in few words. Starting with a summary of those who, like certain Ebionites and Encratites, abjured wine as an element in the Lord's Supper, our author first discusses the objection that an ascetic tendency is sufficient to explain such a fact, pointing in particular to the cases of the Catholic Pionius and the Cæcilius with whom Cyprian remonstrates (Ep. 63), as types of non-ascetic African and Asiatic "Aquarii." This done, he feels that he has a *primâ facie* case for raising the question, even as regards a writer like Justin. And first of all one must remark that Harnack, while engaged with Gebhardt on the preparation of a critical text of Justin, was driven to suspect the presence not only of accidental but also of "tendency" interpolations (*cf.* οἶνον instead of ὄνον *bis*). Before, then, examining the *locus classicus*, Apol. I., 65-67, he tests Justin's usage in several pertinent cases; and concludes that even where quotations suggest the idea of wine—where later fathers discerned such an analogy—he almost studiously avoids the association. When, therefore, the words ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος occur in I. 65, the last two seem to be a gloss, which not only overlaps with ὕδατος, but is absent from cod. Ottob., which here is extant. Then the Mithras analogy cited in c. 66 renders οἶνον in c. 65 *fin* superfluous. So that in the last case, c. 67, the middle noun in the words ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ, becomes in the absence of contextual support already more than half suspect. Harnack is thus able to claim that Tatian is only true to his master's usage when he rejects wine as an essential element in the Eucharist. The "ascetic" theory now being insufficient, Harnack sets forth the ancient data supporting (1) "wine" or "water and wine;" (2) "cup" or "drink" (πόμα); (3) "water;" (4) "breaking of bread" alone, not to mention other edibles sometimes used—*e.g.*, cheese among the Montanists, &c., salt (Clem. Hom. 14, 1; *cf.* Ep. Clem. ad Jac. ix. ἡ κοινὴ τῶν ἀλῶν μετάληψις), and even oil (Acta Thomæ p. 68). The gist of it all is to throw the emphasis not upon the special elements used, but upon the *act* of using them in common, with gratitude as in God's presence. "A very simple meal is bread and wine; but the simplest is bread and water. Many poor have only bread and

water. . . . The most constant factor is the bread. The content of the 'cup' may vary—being indeed of the nature of accompaniment. The elements of the Lord's Supper, therefore, are the Bread and the Cup (not necessarily of wine)." Harnack traces this spirit in Paul (1. Cor. x. 3, 4; though xi. 21 implies use of wine at the Corinthian Agapé; Rom. xiv. 21), John (*ἄρτος* with nothing, but *πόσις* as correlate, cf. *πιεῖν ὑδωρ ζῶν*, vii. 37, 38), Ignatius, the *Didaché*, as well as Justin, whose *τροφή ξηρά τε καὶ ὑγρὰ* (*Dial.* 117) gives classic expression to the free, non-legal view of primitive Christianity as to the Lord's "institution" (cf. Acts ii. 46 *κλῶντες κατ' οἶκον ἄρτον*, where both what is said and what is omitted is significant). A theory as to the stages in the usage follows. Then comes the moral—viz., critical Patristic texts, and the rooting of "the Lord's meal" in the everyday life of His people—the very presence of "Christ in common things."

The desire for critical texts of the Greek Apologists is already in process of fulfilment. Schwartz of Rostock, who is herein co-operating with von Gebhardt, published in 1888 a scholarly edition of Tatian's "*Oratio ad Græcos*," and the related Fragments and Testimonies, together with a most exhaustive *Index græcus*—not the least valuable feature. And now he follows it up with Athenagoras in similar fashion. He has Theophilus in hand; while Gebhardt and Harnack are doing the same for Justin's Apology and Dialogue.

Athenagoras is to us little more than a name, as far as external evidence is concerned. Methodius, in the third century, mentions him; but henceforth, with the exception of a confused reference,<sup>1</sup> derived from Philip Sidetes (c. 420), he seems to have sunk into neglect amid the more precisely dogmatic requirements of later ages. This lot he shared in large measure with all the Greek apologists. Witness the fact that our knowledge of most of them depends ultimately on a single MS. But his Platonism is so marked as to make him specially liable to such a fate. Accordingly, we owe it to one man, Arethas, Archbishop of Caesarea, that we possess the fine "*Libellus pro Christianis*" at all, not to mention the "*Oratio de Resurrectione Cadaverum*." The MS. which he caused *Buanem notarium* to prepare in 914 A.D., and which he

<sup>1</sup> Spite of the obvious blunders in Philip's biographical details as to Athenagoras, as they reach us through an anonymous writer, may they not contain some grains of truth? Thus he confusedly connects Athenagoras with Clement of Alexandria. Can it be that he was "the Ionian" to whom, as his early teacher "in Greece," Clement makes reference (Eus. v. 11, 4)? This at least would fit in well enough with those "Montanist" traits in him imagined by Tillemont—i.e., the tendency to regard the prophetic state as one of ecstasy (c. 9.), and to discourage second marriage (c. 33).



corrected with his own hand, is the sole basis for our text, spite of some incidental help as to details derived from three MSS. dependent thereon—viz., cod. Mutinensis (s. xi.), cod. Parisinus 174 (s. xi.), and cod. Parisinus 450 (A.D. 1364), to which may be added cod. Argentorensis 9, a copy of cod. Mutinensis. The three secondary witnesses have many conjectural emendations of their archetype, being therefore of the nature of recensions. To repress the excessive self-complacency of some modern editors by reminding them that there were men of critical sagacity even before their own day, as well as for general reference, Schwartz prints a complete table of their "corrections" (pp. xi.-xxix.). It is out of place here to attempt any direct estimate of the value of the text as restored by Schwartz. But for those who know how to appraise names, it may be as well to remark that, as with Theophilus, so in this case, the editor has had the help not only of Gebhardt, but also of a classical scholar like Wilamowitz-Moellendorf—"quem et alterum editorem dicere debeo." It only remains to call attention again to the extreme value, as sources of reference, of such laborious indices as Schwartz compiles. It is to such that we must look to supply the absence of any adequate lexicon of early ecclesiastical Greek. VERNON BARTLET.

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### The Analogy of Existences and Christianity.

By Charles J. Wallace, M.A. London Hodder & Stoughton.  
8vo, pp. xii. 310. Price 6s.

THE title of Mr Wallace's book is obscure; the contents are worthy of the title. The author's design is to unfold the subtle harmony that exists between "the truths which science opens out to us as *real* facts," and "the wondrous spiritual and *real* truths which Christianity would teach us,"—an excellent aim! I have no doubt that the author has really been in the "secret chamber" of which he speaks, where "the mysteries of spiritual truth become more brightly revealed to the seeker after God;" but the gift of utterance has been denied him. Indeed, he himself confesses to having been "untrained in literature and un conversant with the technicalities of systematic writing," whatever they may be, when he first "launched forth into a sea of words." Had he chewed the cud for some years before publishing, he would either not have published at all, or done so to better purpose.

Here are the headings of the chapters into which the work is divided, in the order in which they occur:—Godhead, Supremacy, Food, Law, Dead, Kind, Rest; Life, Material, Breath, Water, Fire; Formation, Sex, Seed, Food, Fruits, Transformation, Para-

dise. And here again, are the opening sentences:—"The first chief characteristic with regard to existences, be they animate or inanimate, is a certain individual identity which possesses each. Each separate existence is as a unity or world in itself. No matter what may be the combination of things, or effect of circumstances, this universal personality, with regard to existences, is to be observed as a natural fact or standard truth, carried everywhere. Each one of us realises in himself, as a fact of supreme importance, that he lives, as it were, alone.

In a sense, then, each one of us is an existence of life now, as 'a god.'" *Ex pede Herculem.* D. W. SIMON.

### Ueber das *Mysterium Magnum* des Daseins.

Von J. Frohschammer. Leipzig: Brockhaus. 8vo, pp. xii. 183.  
Price M. 4.

WITH this work, the author, who is Professor of Philosophy in the University of Munich, brings to a close a long, and in some respects eventful theological and philosophical career. Such at least, is his personal expectation, for in a private letter to the reviewer he writes:—"This is probably the last book I shall be able to write;" and adds, "It contains a brief account of the scanty result of long, toilsome, and much assailed enquiries in the domain of the philosophy of religion. I have done what I could not help doing. Let others do better. I dare not reckon on general agreement with the conclusions I have reached;—that is out of the question. I have never shrunk from asserting the right for myself to follow where scientific investigation led, and to express the convictions that forced themselves on me; the same right I cheerfully concede to others." A certain tone of sadness, not to say of bitterness, colours the words quoted: nor can any one wonder who knows what their writer has had to endure. From its beginning till now, his life has been poisoned by the Church in which he was baptized. She has been to him in very deed a *Raben-mutter*, as the German has it; and but for the exceptional toughness of his spiritual fibre, he must early have been reduced to the condition of moral and intellectual limpness which is generally the result of a purely Romish training and influence. As it is, one who has grown up in the free atmosphere of an Evangelical Church constantly comes in his writings on pre-suppositions and suppositions, implications and positions, which tell of the ignorance and perversions which dominated his youthful development.

Those among us who think that the Papacy is improving, should

study Frohschammer's life. He calls it a *Historia Calamitatum* : in any case it shows that practically Rome's motto is the significant words used by Ricci, General of the Order of Jesuits in 1761, to the king of France, when the introduction of reforms which might avert its dissolution was urged on him—"Sint ut sunt, aut non sint." To entertain any other view is to live in a fool's paradise.

Frohschammer began his career as a Parish Priest ; then, after overcoming all sorts of hindrances, he became Professor of Theology and University preacher at Munich ; finally, he was appointed Professor of Philosophy—thus attaining, as he says, the goal of his ambition. He owed this latter position to a work on "The Origin of Human Souls," published in 1854 : this same work brought him, about 1856, into a conflict with the Papacy, which ended only with his formal excommunication in 1871. His case indirectly contributed far more to the Old Catholic movement than has yet been recognised. Frohschammer bore not a little of the brunt of that battle for freedom of thought within the Romish Church, the *κῶδος* of which was reaped by Döllinger and his friends.

He has published a good many works, marked by precision of thought and unusual clearness of style—one of the best was "Der alte und der neue Glaube," directed against Strauss ; but his *opus magnum*, on which for twenty years or more he has concentrated his chief thought, is "Die Phantasie als Grundprincip des Weltprocesses," the first volume of which appeared in 1877. The distinctive feature of this System of Philosophy or philosophical view of the world—for such it is—is, that the processes of nature with their varied products, including humanity itself and the historical development through which humanity has passed, are all traced back to one fundamental principle, termed Phantasy or World-Phantasy. As human art, in all its branches, where it deserves the name, is the product of the creative action of the imagination or phantasy, working in the individual genius, so are the innumerable productions of nature from its lowest to its highest forms, from the simplest combinations of matter to self-conscious man, works of art, so to speak, of a power which is immanent in nature just as the imagination is immanent in man ; which power it seems fitting to designate by the same term as we apply to the corresponding or analogous power in man, namely phantasy. The term has evoked surprise in some quarters, foolish criticism in others ; but, after all, if there be recognised at all in the system of things called the world an immanent formative principle, whether regarded as the mode of the divine activity—as it may be—or not, what designation can be found for it of greater approximative accuracy than that of *World-Phantasy* or *Imagination* ? In point of fact, the author, in selecting this word, did but recur, as he himself maintains, to the original meaning

of the root from which the Greek *φαντασία* is derived, namely, *φαντάζεσθαι*, *φαίνεσθαι*, and *φῶς*. Phantasy or imagination, from signifying phenomena of mind which are due, not to impressions from without, but to action within the mind itself, came naturally to denote the activity itself, or the potentiality of which it was the expression. Why not transfer it in this sense to that wonderful power in nature which generates the phenomena and forms that ceaselessly arise and as ceaselessly pass away? But as my intention is simply to convey an idea of the author's meaning, not to defend or criticise his views, I will hasten on. I may just add, however, that he left untouched the question of the origin of the world, and of its immanent principle; conceiving himself to be as little concerned with that metaphysical problem as Kant and Laplace were with the origin of matter and its laws, when they put forth their mechanical theory of the heavens. Whether a *philosophical* system should not aim at more, is a question about which there may be differences of opinion: all depends on one's view of philosophy.

In 1889 Professor Frohschammer published a portly volume on "The Philosophy of Thomas Aquinas." He undertook the work as much for practical as for scientific ends; for he is of opinion that the influence which is being increasingly exercised by the Thomistic philosophy over the Romish priesthood, and through them over the unthinking laity,—especially since 1879, when the present Pope constituted it the semi-official and alone authorised system of the entire Roman Catholic Church,—is a real danger to freedom and all that depends thereon. To this work I would, in passing, direct attention.

In the light of what has been narrated, it cannot but be of interest to learn what Professor Frohschammer has now to say regarding the "Mysterium Magnum of Existence"—the problem of the origin of the world, of God, of religion. The volume thus entitled consists of an introduction and four chapters, headed, "The religious solution of the problem of Existence and its scientific untenableness: Philosophical attempts to solve it; Knowledge of the Absolute and Absolute Knowledge; The Divine Personality; Theodicy." The first heading tells its own tale. The second, after reviewing the efforts of philosophers, from Thales to Schopenhauer, pronounces the judgment that no very satisfactory conclusion has been reached, as far as the problem is concerned, though other important benefits have accrued to humanity from philosophy. As to the third point he says, logically it is unwarrantable to affirm the existence of a conscious absolute intelligence and self-determining will. The last section is devoted, not, as might be expected, to a justification of God as regards the

character of the world He has made and rules, but to the enquiry whether, in presence of the world as it actually is, man is justified in assuming the existence of God as the absolute Ideal of reason ; to which the reply is, *at best doubtful*.

A sad issue of so much strenuous, self-denying, intellectual labour ! one cannot but exclaim. Though convinced of the sincerity of Professor Frohschammer's purpose to find the truth, I cannot help feeling that but for the twisting influence of his ecclesiastical associations, he would have arrived at a more satisfactory, because a truer, result. He is another melancholy illustration of the effect which a demand, by whomsoever made, for the "sacrificium intellectus" must necessarily have on men who are resolved to be true to themselves and to the truth.

D. W. SIMON.

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### **International Journal of Ethics.**

*Devoted to the Advancement of Ethical Knowledge and Practice.*

*Issued Quarterly. No. 5, January 1892. London: T. Fisher Unwin.*

II. The publishers have failed to send me this number in time. I can do little more than give the *contents*, marking as particularly important Nos. 2 and 5. By the *three religions*, Mr Mackenzie means Agnosticism, Humanitarianism, and Christianity. The design of his very thoughtful paper is to show that the permanent power of Christianity lies in the fact that it has succeeded in embracing two elements—the knowableness and the unknowableness of God—which Agnosticism and Humanitarianism agree in regarding as irreconcilable opposites. Among the books reviewed are Sidgwick's *Elements of Politics*, Webb's *The Eight Hours' Day and the London Programme*, Jones's *Browning as a Philosophical and Religious Teacher*.

#### *Contents.*

1. The Ethical Aspects of the Papal Encyclical. Brother Azarias.
2. The Three Religions. J. S. Mackenzie, M.A.
3. The Ethics of Hegel. Rev. J. Macbride Sterrett.
4. A Palm of Peace from German Soil. Fanny Hertz.
5. Authority in the Sphere of Conduct and Intellect. Professor H. Nettleship, Oxford.
6. Discussions. The Theory of Punishment. The Labour Church in Manchester.
7. Reviews.

LEWIS A. MUIRHEAD.

**Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie, 1892.***Erstes Heft und zweites Heft.*

Two uninteresting numbers. In the first, Hilgenfeld has a long article on "Priscillian and his Newly-discovered Works," in review of a study by Dr F. Paret entitled "Priscillian, a Reformer of the Fourth Century." Paret seeks by examination of the recently-discovered works of the Spaniard to set his career in a new light, in particular representing him as a reformer before his time, and stigmatising his execution in 385 as a "judicial murder." The ordinary view has been that Priscillian was a heretic of Manichæan tendencies, and to this opinion Hilgenfeld feels compelled (in spite of Dr Paret) to adhere. Paret's representation of his subject is first criticised in detail—that the reputation for heresy was due to Priscillian's indifference to dogma and church constitution, his use of the Apocrypha as Scripture, and his insistence on an "undogmatic Christianity" based solely on Scripture. Hilgenfeld, on the other hand, finds clear traces of a dualistic system of a Gnostic character nearly approaching Manichæism. This is confirmed by contemporary writers—*e.g.*, by Sulpicius Severus, and by descriptions of Manichæan sects in Spain with which Priscillian's name was identified. After a review of the history of the controversy (in the course of which the writer remarks that "such a commotion could hardly have arisen from a merely 'undogmatic Christianity'"), the writings themselves are examined in detail,—the "Canons," "Tractates," and "Polemical Works,"—with a similar result. Hilgenfeld concludes: "We are only strengthened by this discussion in the conviction that Priscillian in no way represents pure persecuted innocence, and that, on the contrary, his teaching offers points of real connection with Gnostic and Manichæan heresy."

A much more interesting article is that by J. Mensinga on "The Gospel of John and the Synoptists," in which certain phenomena of the fourth gospel are used to discredit its genuineness. One of these is a strong "opposition to the world." The Jesus of John uses the word itself more than twenty times in a bad sense, the Jesus of the Synoptists never. The word includes the *whole* of mankind, and its frequent use shows that it represents an attitude of mind. The Johannine picture, therefore, is one of opposition to all mankind, who are declared to be the enemies of Christ and inspired by the devil. This conclusion is confirmed by a view of the whole representation, which is in complete contrast to that of the other gospels. Jesus is there the Optimist, and is painted in beautiful colours. Humanity in its noblest form, love to all, faith in man, are the characteristics of the Synoptical accounts,—as seen, *e.g.*, in

the Blessing of the Children, the Parable of the Good Samaritan, the Repentant Sinner. Christ is a "Gluttonous Man and Wine-bibber." In John nothing of all this is found, but the very opposite. There is a friendship for special men, but not for *man*. History gives us the explanation of this contrast. The tendency to exclusiveness incidental to separate sects showed itself in apostolic times (1 John v. 19). This was only increased by contact with heathen rites and customs. The Christians separated themselves from public life, from theatres, and so forth. It was increased too by the early persecutions. "Is it a wonder then that this opposition to the world became the ruling characteristic of Christianity?" In such an atmosphere the fourth gospel was written. It records the life of a Christian of that time, from the beginning of his faith in the Son of God, through all his troubles with the world, to his martyrdom and glory. The writer concludes with a compliment to "John."

One other article may be specially noticed—on "The Life-time of Christ according to the Commentary of Hippolytus on Daniel." In the recently discovered "Chalki MS." of the fourth Book occurs a passage which fixes the birthday of our Lord as 25th December in the year 42 of Augustus, and the date of the Crucifixion as 25th March 33 A.D., in the year 18 of Tiberius. If this were genuine, we should have an accurate declaration from the first two centuries as to the life-time of Christ, and also an interesting witness that the hitherto rejected tradition of the Ante-Nicene Church did not arise in the middle of the fourth century, being already vouched by a church father of undoubted learning in the second. The genuineness of the passage, however, is denied by the writer on several grounds: (1) by comparison with the MS. already known, which simply declares that Christ was born in the days of Augustus at Bethlehem, and died in the year 33. This is confirmed by a fragment of the eighth century, in which occurs a quotation from Hippolytus. (2) By a passage of Georgius Syncellus of Constantinople, who mentions a tradition in Hippolytus to the same effect, and other notices of church fathers. In fact, no trace is found in either the Eastern or Western Church in support of the passage in question. (3) By the context of the passage, and by an examination of the passage itself, which bears in the names of persons mentioned traces of a later tradition. The passage is the work of a forger, who wished to supply a strong witness for the antiquity of the Catholic chronology.

The other articles are: "Contribution to W. Christ's Treatment of the Greek Patristic," "Luke i. 6 explained in Greek by Origen," "The Eschatological Preaching of Pseudo-Ephraem," "The Hussites in Hungary," "Thomas Aquinas the teacher of Michael Servetus."

FREDERICK J. RAE.

**Samson : His Life and Work.***By Rev. Thos. Kirk. Edinburgh : Andrew Elliot.**Pp. 264. Price 3s. 6d.*

THIS is an excellent Biblical monograph of the sort now happily becoming more frequent among us. Given as a series of pulpit lectures, it is far from being merely homiletic. The didactic use is grounded upon a thorough study of the Scripture narrative, sustained by intelligent reproduction of the most recent geographical and archaic research. The mythical theory of Goldziher and Steinthal is submitted to a calm and well-reasoned criticism in a supplementary lecture. The book supplies a valuable aid to the study of this portion of Israel's Iron Age.

J. LAIDLAW.

**Notices.**

*The Life of Archbishop Tait*<sup>1</sup> appears in its third edition. The book has established itself very quickly in the good opinion of the English public. It does full justice to its subject, and apart from the picture which it gives of the man himself, it is of value for what it has to communicate on some of the more important religious and ecclesiastical movements of the century within the English Church. Archibald Campbell Tait, the Scotch lad who climbed to the throne of Canterbury, was not the style of man to make any great contribution to the thought of his age. But he was the type of man that makes an ecclesiastical leader, the victim of no enthusiasms, but sagacious, with the instinct to look out for the middle way and find it, and with the gift of managing men. A man withal of sincere piety and a genuine interest in the good of his fellows. Like many another ecclesiastic he had to spend his energy on much that is now of small moment. But there are pathetic passages in his domestic life that will be remembered when the interest of his public action is gone ; and his biographers have striven with all faithfulness to make us acquainted with the husband, the father, and the private Christian, as well as with the bishop and archbishop.

Principal Moule's *Veni Creator*,<sup>2</sup> which we are glad to see in a

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury.* By Randall Thomas Davidson, D.D., Bishop of Rochester, and William Benham, D.D., Hon. Canon of Canterbury. Third Edition. 2 vols. London : Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 540, and vii. 630. Price 10s. net.

<sup>2</sup> *Veni Creator : Thoughts on the Person and Work of the Holy Spirit of Promise.* By the Rev. H. C. G. Moule, M.A., Principal of Ridley Hall. Second Edition. London : Hodder & Stoughton. 8vo, pp. 253. Price 5s.



new edition, is a book which addresses itself to the interests of practical godliness. It is at the same time a treatise on the most important points in the Scriptural doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and the author is right in speaking of this as a "special subject of our own time." The statement of the doctrine of the *Person* of the Spirit is comparatively brief. It is most remarkable for what is said of the practical side of the truths expressed by such terms as *Personality*, *Procession*, &c., and of the reserve of Scripture in its exhibition of the personal being of the Spirit. The book is devoted mainly to the doctrine of the *Work* of the Spirit, which is stated in its relation first to the Human Nature of our Lord and our union with Him, and then to the Scriptures as regards both their Authority and their Interpretation. Thereafter regeneration, the conviction of sin, and similar subjects are considered, special notice being taken of the remarkable fulness of Paul's teaching on all that belongs to the ministry of the Spirit. We notice that Principal Moule adopts Bishop Lightfoot's vindication of the rendering *Advocate* for *Paracletos*, regarding *Comforter* as a legitimate paraphrase. He appears to be strongly opposed to the Kenotic theory, and holds by Canon Liddon's view of the limitation of Christ's knowledge involved in His Incarnation. In matters of criticism and interpretation the volume is conservative. No use is made of recent works which attempt to trace the history of the idea of a divine spirit in philosophical and religious thought. Within its own limits the book contains much that is both true and opportune in its doctrinal statements. Many of the New Testament passages, too, are admirably handled, among these particularly the Pauline section on the fruit of the Spirit (Gal. v. 22, 23).

The same writer has finished the sketch of *Charles Simeon*,<sup>1</sup> on which he has been engaged for some time. The task of preparing a new Life of the man to whom evangelical religion owed so much in Cambridge, and whose work there has won admiring recognition from novelists like Mr Shorthouse, no less than from preachers and theologians, could not have been committed to more appropriate hands than those of Mr Moule. And the task has been discharged not only with the sympathy which we expect, but with fidelity, discrimination, and literary skill. The book should revive the fragrance of a name which was potent for good wherever it was known, and to forget which would be to the loss of this later generation.

Among the multitude of books in which travellers and tourists bless a patient public with their impressions of the Holy Land, it

<sup>1</sup> Charles Simeon. By H. C. G. Moule, M.A. London: Methuen & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 276. Price 2s. 6d.

is not very easy now to strike out a distinct path. Mr Ross,<sup>1</sup> however, has succeeded in writing a volume which has quite a character of its own. His book differs from many others in its freedom from romance, and in the vigorous common sense which it applies to its subject. It does not attempt to say for the hundred and first time what has already been said for the hundredth time, neither does it break out in the large gushing descriptions which are so little to be trusted. It limits itself to those broader aspects of the subject which are of most general interest, and it puts them before us exactly as they appear to a healthy and observant eye that will not be misled by illusions. A preliminary bird's-eye view of the physical features, scenery, and customs of the land, is followed by chapters on Jerusalem, Galilee, and the Jordan. There are also sections dealing with "Queer folk in Palestine," the story of the victory of the Crescent, the present condition of religion, and the future of the land. The statements on the Temple Christians, the American Adventists, the Samaritans, and the Russian Pilgrims, are particularly vivid and informing. The book is a thoroughly sane book, entirely trustworthy in the things of which it speaks.

The late Dean Church's important contribution to the history of the *Oxford Movement*,<sup>2</sup> which has already been noticed in our pages, is issued now in the tasteful and handy form adopted for the uniform edition of his works. A second edition is also issued of three *Lectures* by the late Dr Robertson of Irvine.<sup>3</sup> In their oral delivery these Lectures were amongst the most popular of their time in Scotland. In their present form they help us to understand the power and the charm of their author. All three are finely wrought, and contain many touches approaching genius.

Professor Beet has prepared a *Handbook of Christian Evidences*,<sup>4</sup> which, though of small size, and intended chiefly for Sunday-school Teachers, has merits which are lacking in many more elaborate efforts, and is fitted to be useful to a wider circle. It is, for the most part, a digest of his very useful Fernley Lecture on the *Credentials of Christianity*, with an additional chapter in which the question of the Authority of Holy Scripture is carefully discussed.

<sup>1</sup> *The Cradle of Christianity : Chapters on Modern Palestine.* By the Rev. D. M. Ross, M.A. With Nine Photo-engravings. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 256. Price 5s.

<sup>2</sup> *The Oxford Movement : Twelve Years, 1833-45.* By R. W. Church, M.A., D.C.L. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 416. Price 5s.

<sup>3</sup> *Martin Luther: German Student Life: Poetry.* From the Manuscripts of the late William B. Robertson, D.D. Second Edition. Glasgow: Maclehose. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 217. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> *The Firm Foundations of the Christian Faith.* By Professor J. A. Beet, D.D. London: Wesleyan Methodist Sunday-School Union. Pp. 127.

Professor Röhricht's *Bibliotheca Geographica Palestinae*,<sup>1</sup> which came to hand some time ago, is an indispensable book of reference. Professor Röhricht's training and previous contributions to this branch of study make him the man to undertake a task like this, and he has discharged it with exemplary care. The book contains a crowd of notices of authors and publications amounting to 3515. The ample and almost exhaustive Bibliography is accompanied by a Cartography with 747 entries. Some slips and omissions are observable, especially in the case of English terms and publications. But they are surprisingly few and unimportant. The book is a remarkable testimony to the author's extraordinary industry and accuracy, the extent of his knowledge, and his success in gathering about him a body of able coadjutors. The volume is appropriately dedicated to the name of Count Paul Riant, and, though on a less magnificent scale than the work projected by that scholar, it gives the completest list of books and authors which we yet possess on the subject. It gives the titles of all the important publications which have appeared within the last fifteen centuries and more. The expert will find it full of information both curious and important. The magnitude reached by this branch of inquiry in our own day may be judged of by the simple fact that, since Robertson led the way in 1838, between 1600 and 1700 authors have contributed to the literature of the subject.

Encouraged by the well-deserved success of his *How to Read Isaiah*, Mr Blake has prepared a similar volume on the smaller prophecies,<sup>2</sup> including among these the last six chapters of Zechariah as a separate prophecy. He gives them in their proper chronological order—Jonah, Amos, Hosea, Zechariah (ix.-xiv.), Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Obadiah, Joel, and connects them with the relative sections of the historical books. The volume is a well-conceived and carefully executed attempt to make these writings speak for themselves. We shall look for the completion of the plan by the inclusion of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Post-Exilian Prophets.

Professor Bickell's *Messe und Pascha*<sup>3</sup> has found a very compe-

<sup>1</sup> Chronologisches Verzeichniss der auf die Geographie des heiligen Landes bezüglichen Literatur von 333 bis 1878 und Versuch einer Cartographie, hrsg. von Reinhold Röhricht. Berlin: Reuther. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xx. 744. Price M. 24.

<sup>2</sup> How to Read the Prophets. Being the Prophecies arranged chronologically in their historical setting. With Explanations and a Glossary. By Rev. Buchanan Blake, B.D. Part I. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 244. Price 4s.

<sup>3</sup> The Lord's Supper and the Passover Ritual. Being a Translation of the substance of Professor Bickell's work termed, "Messe und Pascha." By William F. Skene, D.C.L. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. xii. 219. Price 5s.

tent translator in Dr Skene. The Introduction contributed by Dr Skene is as valuable as the book itself, and in some things the translator shows more sobriety of judgment than the author. The most vulnerable statements in the Introduction are those on the officials of the Synagogue, particularly the *Scheliach tsibbur*. On the other hand, there is an important note on the institution of the *Seven* (Act vi. 1-6), in which Dr Skene properly calls attention to the perfunctory treatment of the question even in Bishop Lightfoot's elaborate essay on the *Christian Ministry*, and the easy way in which English commentators (in this contrasting unfavourably with their German compeers) identify that incident with the appointment of the order of deacons. Dr Skene, too, rightly rejects Professor Bickell's contention that the cup in the Lord's Supper was the fourth, not the third, cup in the Passover Ritual. The book itself, like all that Professor Bickell writes, has abundance of matter, both solid and interesting, but suffers from an excess of ingenuity. It will be valued most by those who are engaged in the study of Liturgies, and set great store by them. Its object is to show the connection between the Lord's Supper and the Passover Ritual. The Clementine Liturgy is held to be substantially Apostolic, and to represent, as Probst held it to do, the "Eucharistic service of the entire pre-Constantine Church." The reasoning on which this conclusion proceeds is acute, but too fine-spun to carry general conviction. Neither is the resemblance between the Passover Ritual and the Eucharistic service so complete as the case demands. Professor Bickell has himself to supplement it from the Sabbath Morning Prayer of the Synagogue.

A new edition of Andrews' *Life of Our Lord*<sup>1</sup> is one of the most welcome books of the season. For the general purpose of the student, there is nothing to compare with it. We must go to other books for the fine writing, and for the critical and philosophical questions which lie behind and beneath the historical record. But for an exact statement of the questions which belong to the historical record as we have it, and for a careful, compendious report of the arguments on both sides, this is the volume to consult. It is far and away the most reliable book that we have in moderate compass on our Lord's Life; a book which the student finds it well to have always at his hand.

By his labours in various fields—as a pastor, first in London and afterwards in his own land, a preacher, a friend of missions, a professor of theology, and a writer, the late Dr Christlieb, of Bonn,

<sup>1</sup> The Life of Our Lord upon the Earth, considered in its Historical, Chronological, and Geographical Relations. By Samuel J. Andrews. New and Revised Edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. xxvii. 651. Price, 9s.

earned a good name far beyond the bounds of Germany. He is best known in our own country, probably by his contributions to the literature of Apologetics—his *Best Methods of Counteracting Modern Infidelity*, and more especially his *Modern Doubt and Christian Belief*. He is a man who deserved to be remembered, and the graceful memoir prepared by his widow<sup>1</sup> should be welcome to many. The story of his life is given briefly and modestly. The discourses which follow it give a good idea of his gifts as a preacher.

The last volume of the *Expositor*<sup>2</sup> is as rich as ever in scholarly matter. There are three sets of papers to which students will turn with special interest—Mr Conybeare's on *Some Fragments of a Pre-Hieronymian Latin Version*, Professor Sanday's on the *Present Position of the Johannean Question*, and Professor Marshall's on the *Aramaic Gospel*. The theory worked out with such care in the last-named series demands a criticism which cannot be attempted at present. There are other papers not less able in their own way than these, and at the same time of more general interest, among which we are glad to see several by the former Editor, Dr Cox.

Mr Reynolds<sup>3</sup> in his discussion of Immortality and Mr Newnham in his *Essays* travel over wide fields, and touch some important questions thoughtfully. The former volume contains some suggestive remarks on certain aspects of the question regarding Immortality. But there is a certain indeterminateness in it which is perplexing, and it is apt to wander away into all kinds of subjects—demons, faith-healing, dreams, the Corsican Brothers, and the like. In the latter, there is an unlucky disposition to seek out fanciful interpretations of great texts, of which we have examples in the extraordinary handling of 1 Cor. xv. 24, and Matthew xxvi. 24. On the other hand, there is something to interest in what is said on the doctrine of Eternal Punishment and on the Resurrection of the body.

Mr Loraine<sup>5</sup> collects and presents in a clear and well-chosen form some of the best thoughts of the time on the fundamental

<sup>1</sup> Theodor Christlieb, D.D., of Bonn. Memoir by his Widow, and Sermons. Translated chiefly by T. L. Kingsbury, M.A., and Samuel Garratt, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 452. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> *The Expositor*: Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, LL.D. Fourth Series. Volume IV. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 8vo, pp. 476. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> *The Natural History of Immortality*. By Joseph William Reynolds, M.A. London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxvi. 389. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> *Alresford Essays*. By Rev. W. O. Newnham, M.A. London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. 292. Price 6s.

<sup>5</sup> *The Battle of Belief*. A Review of the present aspects of the conflict. By Nevison Loraine. London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii. 234. Price 5s.

questions of religion. What was done by Mr Evans with great care and some success in his *Jacob Herbert* through the medium of a dialogue or debate between so many speakers, is attempted by Mr Loraine in a different way and with reference to a larger number of questions. Both books should be useful to large classes of readers, the one on the problem of Theism, the other on that of Religion generally and Christianity in particular. Mr Loraine writes in an attractive style, and supports his statements at every step by apt and telling quotations from the literature of his subjects.

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## Primitive Culture.

*Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art, and Custom. By Edward B. Tylor, LL.D., F.R.S. 2 vols. London: John Murray. Third Edition. 8vo, pp. vii. 502, and viii. 471. Price 21s.*

WHEN a work has held its position as a standard authority in any branch of learning for twenty-one years, it needs no better recommendation to the reading public. This is true of the book before us, which, not only in this country, but also in other lands and in the other languages into which it has been translated, is regarded with respect by those competent to judge, as being the work of a master in this department of anthropology. Dr Tylor adds to a vast range of knowledge the faculty of expressing his meaning in a clear, elegant and forcible style; and these qualities give to his writings a charm that cannot fail to impress his readers.

Within the twenty-one years which have elapsed since the publication of the first edition of "Primitive Culture," a remarkable change has taken place in the views of educated Christendom with respect to the subjects of which it treats. The evolution philosophy has insensibly leavened the teachings of theologians, even the most conservative, so that the opinions of the school of Whately, which were at one time alone supposed to be orthodox, have followed the antiquated ideas of geocentrism to the limbo of the historic past, at most to crop out here and there in the form of "survivals." The thoughtful student has come to recognise that the primitive condition of mankind is a fit subject for investigation, upon which we have no source of light except such as is derived from archaeological research. The earliest written records are late in comparison with the date of the origin of man; and the oldest portion of the Biblical narrative tells us nothing of man's primitive condition, and little concerning his origin,—that little being expressed in language that is obscure and metaphorical.

The general scheme of the work has not been materially changed in this edition; but much new matter, the outcome of recent discoveries, has been added, and the whole has undergone some general revision. These two volumes are monuments of profound research, of patient labour, and of skilful arrangement; and, as they discuss topics which concern the ordinary interests of our every-day life, they appeal to a circle far wider than that of those who are specifically students of anthropology.

The task which our author has set before himself is the inductive

analysis of the process whereby man has become what he is in those capabilities and habits which he has acquired as a member of society. Dr Tylor starts from the postulate that human life in these respects is like the material universe, a unity under fixed laws, whose phenomena are the effects of pre-existing causes, which are themselves parts in an unending chain of sequences. Such a view at once brings him into conflict with the belief in the freedom of the human will. If such a freedom be defined as a power of breaking loose from continuity, then he at once rejects it as an impossibility, because incompatible with scientific argument. In his opinion, the will is not free in this sense, but acts strictly and inevitably in accordance with motive, and is quite incapable of causeless spontaneity of operation.

The evolution in culture which is to be traced by the historian is one whose *terminus a quo* is probably beyond the reach of our discovery. Dr Tylor's belief is that mankind in its earliest state was in a condition of rude savagery, but gifted with the capacity of improvement under the influences of its environments; and that, by a species of Lamarckian evolution the existing stages of culture have been attained. As to the ethical and mental states of our palæolithic ancestors we have no sources of knowledge. Dr Tylor assumes that, in general, those present-day races, who use material weapons similar to theirs, occupy a platform of culture comparable with that of their earliest predecessors. There is an appearance of probability in this, but we must not ignore the evidence which is forthcoming that some of the customs of our lowest existing savages have been the outcome of degradation, rather than of uniform continuance. If this be so, the argument from the savage to the palæolithic race is considerably weakened.

While the theory of the universal origin of the savage state as a degeneration from an original high level of culture is scarcely worthy of serious consideration in the face of the practical universality of the remains of palæolithic man, even in the morning lands of the race, yet it is an unproved assumption that the progression has been uniformly and invariably in the upward direction. There are at least indications that degeneration and retrogression have occurred among some races. This has a double bearing on the argument; in the first place, it casts a doubt on the conclusion that it is safe to assume a necessary identity of ethical standard in the two cases of palæolithic and existing savagery. There is a certain degree of ambiguity about the term "rude savage," and, as far as we know, the conditions of a naked savage in prehistoric times, who had not as yet invented the arts of civilization, were quite compatible with the recognition of a purer moral code than that which influences the life of his degenerate descendants.

In the second place, it leads us to pause before we conclude that the character and habits of mankind are really as uniform and consistent as Dr Tylor has assumed. Man's physical wants and organisation are everywhere substantially the same, the laws of matter and force are the same ; and so far there must be, in the nature of things, a considerable uniformity. But to seek for an equally necessary uniformity in the mental and moral spheres is a serious step, and we do well to hesitate before we accept the statement that in all respects "one set of savages is like another." When we take into account the notorious untrustworthiness of much that is reported concerning savage races, and the ingenuity with which missionaries and others have been either imposed upon or self-deceived, one learns to receive many of these statements with extreme caution. Dr Tylor has made the basis of his inductions very wide, and, for this purpose, has carefully sought for corresponding, if not identical conditions in many and diverse races ; but there is a danger in carrying this presumption of identity too far, leading us to confound analogy with homology in these details, and to assume genetic relationship between customs and modes of life which have had dissimilar origins. What an amount of confusion would be caused were this same looseness of comparison to be carried into verbal etymologies !

In this connection, we cannot but regret that Dr Tylor should have thought it necessary to cumber his text throughout with such an innumerable cloud of witnesses, whose testimony is not all of equal relevancy. In those sections in which he has not done so the argument is clear, but now and then he has considered it requisite to heap up example on example with wearisome prodigality. The relegation of one-half of these references to the footnotes, or to an appendix, would not have weakened the argument, and would have very much added to the ease with which its thread might be followed.

In the prefatory discussion regarding the widespread uniformity of thought and action among mankind, the author warns us of the mistake of supposing any opinion to be true because it is held by the majority of mankind, a fallacy which, he says, affects the minds of all but a small critical minority of mankind. This is doubtless true in the main, as the examples which he has adduced sufficiently prove ; but we must not forget, on the other hand, that the critical minority may be wrong and the majority right, if the former act on the equally fallacious principle of believing the converse of this to be necessarily true. Each opinion must be independently investigated on its own merits.

Just as, in the physical structure of animals, the strongest arguments in favour of their evolutionary origin are derived from rudimental organs, so in the history of culture some of the most

interesting and suggestive phenomena are those which Dr Tylor has aptly named "survivals." These are traces of former conditions of culture remaining and cropping out in the midst of a new order of things. The many examples which Dr Tylor gives of these are of great interest, especially the examples from games, proverbs, and riddles.

There are, however, in the discussion of these survivals, traces of the virtual assumption that what survives is necessarily false or puerile. Human progress in knowledge is rarely in straight lines, and there are not wanting instances which show that early beliefs were glimpses of truths. Each of these survivals must be tested on its own merits before its value is appraised. For example, although there is doubtless very much of "superstition, delusion, and sheer knavery" in the records of the phenomena with which psychical research is at present occupied, yet we cannot divorce the scientific from the anthropological aspect of the study; and there may be profound psychological truths in some of these phenomena, which Dr Tylor regards as a direct survival from the region of savage philosophy and peasant folk-lore.

The study of the development of language is one of the most fascinating sections of culture-history, as it is the one department wherein the progressive stages of evolutionary change can be traced with the greatest clearness. We are no nearer to the discovery of the starting-point of articulate speech than we are to the ascertainment of the closely-related starting-point of the human race. Dr Tylor, in his most interesting chapters on this subject, shows himself no partisan advocate of any one of the current artificial theories of the origin of language, "pooh-pooh," "bow-wow," protoplasmic or ideogenic, but he recognises the part which each of the influences invoked in these several theories has taken in the evolution of complex significant sounds. The keynote of his treatment of the subject is the thesis that language is an original product of a state of low culture, an old barbaric engine which has been added to and altered, patched and tinkered into some sort of capability. This view he expands with admirable skill and clearness, and he illustrates his position aptly and not at too great length. The chapter on the evolution of the art of counting is one of the most interesting in the book.

As the relations of man to the unseen forces of the universe have been the dominant subjects of human thought in all historic ages, and among all races, so it is natural that this section of the History of Culture should be treated with appropriate fulness. Hence to this subject more than half of the book is devoted. Dr Tylor starts with the guiding principle that man cannot create ideas, and hence that all these products of the imagination must have been originally derived from experience, subsequently modified by imperfection of

observation, by wilful deception, or by metaphoric or allegorical method of representation. His system differs from that of Professor Max Müller in that he regards the groundwork of mythology to be the real material analogies of object with object. This he considers to have been antecedent to the origination and growth of the verbal myth, and he rejects Noiré's fundamental postulate that no thought can exist independently of language. The two great Oxford authorities, however, agree in that they regard the objective expressions of the religious thought of mankind as the products of subjective mental processes.

Dr Tylor metaphorically defines his position by saying that "there is a kind of intellectual frontier line within which he must be who will sympathise with myth, while he must be without who will investigate it; and it is our fortune that we live near this frontier line, and can go in and out." As our author reduces all the objects of religious faith to the sublimations of myth, it is an obvious corollary that no one is competent to undertake the task of investigation in this department who does not approach it from the standpoint of unbelief.

The regular order of Nature and of natural process has been a prolific source of myths of a first order. These have impressed the imaginations of early poets, the makers of fancies, who have expressed these in allegorical form. The tendency to anthropomorphism, well-nigh irresistible in human thought, has so moulded these traditionally transmitted tales that they have come to us personified in legends or ancient mythological fables. Dr Tylor is not a blind advocate of the reference of all mythology to source in natural celestial phenomena, and he has parodied the vagaries of the extreme writers of this school in his reduction of the "Song of Sixpence" to a solar myth, just as Mr Littledale some years ago, in an article in "*Kottabos*," proved that Max Müller himself was a myth of the dawn. Dr Tylor believes, however, that a very large proportion of myths have had an origin in the distorted observation of natural phenomena, and he illustrates his view with a bewildering profusion of references.

Myths of a second order, the embodiment of the crude archaic thoughts of the youthful period of the world expressed in pre-historic fashion, he calls philosophic myths. His treatment of these is not so happy as is that of the former section. The Euhemeristic explanation that the Legend of St Patrick banishing the snakes from Ireland, is a popular method of accounting for the existence of ammonites, seems rather far fetched, as Ireland is largely composed of palæozoic rocks. There is probably an element of this nature in the legends of dwarfs or trolls, whereby traditions of the aboriginal inhabitants of countries are preserved, and myths of giants were probably the

memories of past savage and successful conquerors seen through the distorting medium of the mist of ages. It is probable that many of the stories which pass current as examples of this class of myth are originally impostures invented like the stories of many an Irish guide, to cover ignorance, and in this sense they are not original folk-lore. This is specially the case with many etymological, and some eponymic myths. With this last class, however, the destructive critic is not on sure ground, for, knowing how much the names of persons have become used as appellations of places and things in historic time, it is unsafe to premise that all names in past legends are necessarily eponymic myths. The natural inclination of mankind undoubtedly is to make myths complete, and thus when a few names in a genealogy have become historic, there is a tendency to invent those required to fill the gaps. Still, although it may be a puzzle to the historian of archaic times to discriminate the elements of truth from those of fable in early traditions, yet it seems an extreme view to regard all myths as necessarily consisting of the poetic fancies of their authors, rather than as containing shadowy memorials of a real past.

Closely connected with mythology is the section of Culture-History which is concerned with the evolution of religious beliefs, a subject which is hard to investigate in an unbiassed spirit. The first conclusion which Dr Tylor's careful scrutiny of the tribes of mankind establishes is that there is no known race without so much of religion as a belief in the dualism in the nature of man, and in some order of unseen existences able to influence human life. If there ever existed a primitive non-religious state of mankind, such as the evolution theory postulates, there is no trace of its survival even among the lowest grade of humanity.

The doctrine of the development of the belief in spiritual beings is named by Dr Tylor "Animism," that is, the recognition of the presence of invisible existences either inhabiting human bodies or associated with other objects in Nature, and influential in affecting the destinies of men. The universal belief in a spirit-world was a product, in the lowest grade of human culture, of the experience of men that certain processes whose sum constitutes life cease to manifest themselves in the condition of death. As after their death the remembrance of persons known during life often returned to their surviving friends in the state of sleep, mankind, reasoning upon these memories was led to believe that dreams were due to the return of that part of their friends which had so departed from their bodies. In recalling in human language these visits it was natural to speak of them in terms of those processes which had ceased with life, and thus the names of this mysterious invisible part were derived from the names of the breath or of the motions of the body or

of the heart, the most obvious of the phenomena the cessation of which is characteristic of death. In this portion of the research, Dr Tylor, departing from his former position that the concepts of real phenomena are originally independent of their verbal analogies, bases his view of the origin of the primitive idea of the soul on the terminology of souls among different races. The progress of the development of the philosophy of the dream-soul is traced at some length through the immense series of dream-stories in patristic, mediæval, and modern literature, wherein it is often difficult to decide which are truth and which are fiction. "But along the course of these myriad narratives of human phantoms—the problem of dream-apparitions—may be traced a progress of gradual determination from the earlier conviction that a disembodied soul really comes into the presence of the sleeper, towards the later opinion that such a phantasm is produced in the dreamer's mind without the perception of any external objective figure."

In treating of the relation of funeral customs to psychological theory, Dr Tylor holds the view that the fundamental motive at the basis of funeral sacrifices, is the notion of benefiting the deceased, as against the hypothesis of Max Müller that they were merely the outcomes of a natural affection, or that of Robertson Smith that they were, in some cases at least, offerings to propitiate animal gods.

In summing up the progress of the history of opinion on the existence and nature of the soul, Dr Tylor seems, by implication (p. 501), to regard the Christian idea of the soul as a sublimated survival, continuous from the philosophy of the savage thinker to that of the modern professor of theology. Either this fundamental idea has an objective truth related to it, or it has not. If not, then man, like the beast, passes at death to utter personal annihilation and has no future to anticipate.

This bearing of the hypothesis of the conception of the soul must be carried through the whole argument, and when (II. 2) Dr Tylor in his fascinating survey rises into the poetic strain of considering the faith in a future existence as at once an inducement to goodness, a sustaining hope through suffering and across the fear of death, and an answer to the perplexing problem of the allotment of happiness and misery in this present world by the expectation of another world to set this right, we must still remember that in his view this inducement is based on a mistake, this hope has no objective reality, and the answer to the perplexing problem is the answer of a false prophet who says, "Peace, peace, when there is no peace."

That the forms into which all religious beliefs gravitate in the lower grades of culture are gross and corrupt is a matter of experience, even in western lands; but the hypothesis that there is no objective reality behind any of them is one of the gravest moment.

Christianity stands or falls, as a system, by the resurrection of Christ. Its psychology is based on a theory which Dr Tylor especially excludes from his view, that of a direct revelation of God to man. In assuming that the Christianity of whose ethical system he speaks in such approving terms is the direct descendant of the original animism, he seems to confound two things which may be quite separate—the growth of the mythic expression of the idea, and the evolution of the truth as a result of gradually infused illumination from without. While it may be true that man is incapable of originating new systems, yet, if we believe in the existence of a personal God, it is perfectly conceivable that He might have, in a by-past age, brought life and immortality to light by the Gospel.

There is no doubt that into the eschatology of the religions of the present day much has been absorbed from the lower culture, such as crude and gross ideas of a place of woe or of a purgatory. It is hard to say how far a doctrine of retribution was an original part of the primitive notion of a future life, but we have historic evidence that such ideas were known and elaborated in an early stage of human history. In the Egyptian religion, the belief in the judgment to come was an essential part of the system of belief currently held at least four thousand years ago, and a resurrection, a new life, like, but not identical with, that on earth, was the anticipation of all religious persons. The real problem of the origin of the belief in dualism of existence, in the existence of spirits separate from matter, and of a great central, guiding, unseen power in Nature is one which the dream theory of Spencer and Tylor is inefficient to account for, and is far more consistent with the Christian view of its being the result of a direct working of the Spirit of God in the heart of primitive man prepared by the processes of Providence, by divinely ordered evolution, for its reception.

There is an important fundamental difference between the study of human culture as shown in the progress of humanity, in language and art, and the development of scientific knowledge. In the one case, man fashions and improves instruments which are of his own invention; in the other, he is discovering that which is objectively true. Science would be equally true were there no man to discover its most elementary facts, and, in the case of religion, the existence of a personal God was in like manner as much a truth in the ages when the earth held no thinking inhabitants, as it is now.

The range of subordinate topics dealt with in Dr Tylor's work is so great that only a few can be touched on in the brief space at our disposal. He has an interesting chapter on tree-spirits, a subject which has been treated in a masterly manner by Mr Frazer, to whose work, however, Dr Tylor makes no reference. He also reviews the development of the idea of totemism, and shows that,



like the dawn myth, it has been strained as a key to unlock the mysteries of mythology beyond its legitimate powers. Animism modified by anthropomorphism, the progress of belief in spiritual existences from the many to the few, culminating in the belief in two contending powers, one good and one evil, a progress which has been named Kathenotheism is the hypothesis underlying his treatment of the entire subject.

Whether the author has conclusively proved that all tribes of mankind have moved in the same paths of progress from the earliest prehistoric days of dawning intelligence to the present or not, and that the existing savage and his life and notions give us our best guides in tracing these paths may, perhaps, after all, be yet open to question. That the diversity of religious belief in the world, even in a small section of it like our own country, has been largely brought about by the interaction of such forces as those to which collectively we give the name evolutionary, is a thesis which can be easily maintained; but here, as in the world of life, spontaneous generation of new principles is as yet unproved. It may not be straining this analogy between life and culture too far to infer that there had been a germinal religious idea communicated to man when he had, in his development, attained to such a stage as to be able to profit by it. Such a hypothesis would not be foreign to the spirit of the Neo-Darwinism which postulates that there must be a primitive germ plasma at the basis of the continuance of life.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

### Assyrien und Babylonien nach den neuesten Entdeckungen.

*By Fr. Kaulen. Fourth Edition. Herder, Freiburg. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Large 8vo, pp. xii. 286. Price M. 4.*

THE value of Dr Kaulen's book is sufficiently indicated by the fact that it has reached a fourth edition. It supplies a want, and the public has recognised that it supplies it well. The literature of Assyriology is now very considerable. There are plenty of books which describe the discoveries made during recent years in Assyria and Babylonia, as well as the new world of facts which the decipherment of the ancient monuments has revealed to us. But they either deal with special departments of Assyriological research, or else are chiefly occupied with the history of the old kingdoms on the Euphrates and Tigris. The latter is the case even with the well-known works of Rawlinson and Hommel. The public has no difficulty in learning what has been done towards restoring the ancient history of Assyria and Babylonia; but it finds much greater difficulty in obtaining answers to questions of equal interest,—the

nature and decipherment of cuneiform writing, the extent and character of Babylonian literature, or the principles of Assyrian art and architecture.

For such questions Dr Kaulen's book provides an answer. History, in the technical sense of the term, occupies in it but a subordinate place, the main part of the volume being devoted to those sides of Assyriological research which have usually received but scant recognition. As Dr Kaulen knows how to select and arrange his materials so as to make what he writes at once clear and interesting, it is not surprising that his book has enjoyed a great success in Germany. The excellent illustrations which are scattered through its pages add greatly to its value.

In the new edition the author has endeavoured to bring his work up to the latest level of knowledge. In the description, for instance, of the excavations that have been carried on in Babylonia, notice is taken not only of the discoveries made there in 1887 by the German expedition, but also of those made still more recently at Niffer by the American expedition. In the chapter on Assyrian and Babylonian literature, again, the most recent attempts at translation have been consulted, and Dr Kaulen has done wisely in omitting altogether the fantastic versions of Mr Fox Talbot, which he had originally admitted into his work. It would have been better if, in all cases where he is quoting the translation of a cuneiform text, Dr Kaulen had given both the name of the translator and the date of the translation itself. Assyriology is a progressive science, and the translations of Assyrian texts are necessarily capable of improvement from time to time. It is improvement, however, and not substantial change. Except in the case of so-called "translations" like those of Mr Fox Talbot referred to above, in which the elementary principles of philology were set at defiance, the progress made in Assyrian translation is not so great as certain young German scholars assert, and as the public is sometimes induced to believe. It is rather in the more exact definition of individual words, and the determination of the sense of passages which had baffled the skill of earlier translators, than in any important change of meaning that a translation made to-day differs from one made by a competent scholar twenty years ago. If, for example, we compare the latest rendering of the great Chaldean Epic of Gilgames with that made by George Smith in the hurry of departure for the East, and at a time when the class of documents to which the Epic belongs was wholly new, we shall find that in all important points the English Assyriologist had already grasped the signification of the cuneiform original. He was not only a pioneer, but a pioneer who also secured the ground which he was the first to traverse.

Where corrections of importance have been introduced into the translations of the inscriptions, it will usually be found that they are due rather to a correction of the reading of the cuneiform than to a more exact interpretation of it. Nothing is more difficult than to copy accurately the documents which have been bequeathed to us by the libraries of Assyria and Babylonia. The smallness of the characters, the carelessness with which they have often been written, the broken and otherwise injured condition of the clay tablets on which they are inscribed, render the accurate transcription of a cuneiform text one of the hardest tasks in the world. Even the Assyrian scribes were sometimes at fault when copying a tablet which had been brought from Babylonia; it is not wonderful, therefore, if the copies that we make to-day should need repeated revision.

I have already said that history in the ordinary sense of the word occupies a subordinate place in Dr Kaulen's work. It is doubtless on this account that it is the least satisfactory portion of his book. It has not been brought up to date. The Babylonian chronology given by George the Synkellos is followed, whereas we have long had in our hands a list of kings and dynasties drawn up by the native historians themselves, which differs materially from the scheme of the Byzantine compiler. The chronological position of Khammuragas or Khammurabi is entirely misconceived, as is also that of the "Kassite" king Agu-kak-rime. I may also note in passing, that the Accadian term *patesi*, applied to some of the princes whose memorials have come down to us, signifies "High-priest," and not "Vicegerent." Why, moreover, does Dr Kaulen say that the explanation of the name of Babylon as Bab-ilu, or "Gate of God," is a "later" and popular etymology? It is the only form known to the early inscriptions, and goes back not only to Accadian days but even to the age of the invention of cuneiform writing. The "later" popular etymology is naturally that which connected the name with the "confusion" of languages, and for which the book of Genesis is at present our sole authority. Indeed, it is doubtful whether a verb *babálu*, "to confound," occurs at all in Assyrian. I at all events have never met with it.

If the historical chapter were revised and somewhat enlarged, I should be glad to see an English translation of Dr Kaulen's volume, with such alterations, of course, as would be necessary for its success among an English-speaking public. It contains in an eminently readable form a full and lucid account of those results of Assyriological research which have been too much neglected in popular works on the subject, and the author has consequently cultivated ground which has only partially been occupied by others.

A. H. SAYCE.

**Lectures Historiques.**

*By G. Maspero. Paris: Hachette & Cie. Price F. 2.50.*

THE charming little volume of ancient history which Professor Maspero has lately published bears a title of such general application as to conceal its real character. The book is really a new departure in the reconstruction of ancient Oriental history, and deals only with two countries, Egypt and Assyria. On all that relates to ancient Egypt, Professor Maspero is the highest of living authorities; as for Assyria, his *Histoire ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient* has shown that a scholar who is a thorough master of one subject can write with the pen of a master upon another subject which he has been forced to study at second-hand.

In his new volume, Professor Maspero depicts first of all the daily life of an Egyptian of rank in the stirring age of Ramses II., the Sesostris of Greek legend and the Pharaoh of the Oppression of the Old Testament, and next the life of an Assyrian in the reign of Assur-bani-pal, the Sardanapallos of the Greeks. The reader is thus made acquainted in a life-like way with the manners and customs, the beliefs and literature of the two great nations of the ancient world, as well as with the architecture of their towns and buildings, and the political events of the age to which the narrative relates. The value of the story is enhanced by the numerous illustrations scattered throughout the volume.

In the first chapter, Thebes and its people are brought before us with as much detail and distinctness as the inhabitants of some modern European capital. Then we are introduced to the market and the shops, to a "strike" of workmen, and the arrival of the Pharaoh himself upon the scene. From a description of the royal court and its deified head we pass to the temple of Amon, and the rites and ceremonies which were performed there. The ritual prescribed at the time of a declaration of war is skilfully introduced by means of a letter in cuneiform characters, modelled on those found at Tel el-Amarna, which the prince of Megiddo is supposed to send asking for assistance against the Hittites. War being declared, the Egyptian army and the method of recruiting it are next described; then come accounts of life in a country-house, of the sickness and death of one of the chief personages of the story, and finally of his burial. After this, we are transported to the camp of Ramses II. in Syria, and to the battle which was followed by the famous treaty of peace, defensive and offensive, concluded between the Pharaoh of Egypt and the "great king" of the Hittites.

Such is the skeleton of the tale into which Professor Maspero has interwoven all the abundant knowledge we now possess of

Egyptian life in the age of the Exodus. The interest of the story never flags, no detail of importance is omitted; and we rise with a feeling that we know as much about Egypt and its people in the time of Moses as if we had ourselves lived among them. The old Egyptians have once more become to us men of real flesh and blood, and we are surprised to find how intensely modern in many respects they were.

The second part of the *Lectures Historiques* is similar to the first, except that the scene is laid in Assyria and Babylonia instead of Egypt, and the date is some seven centuries later than the age of Ramses. We begin with a description of the palace built by Sargon and excavated by Botta at Khorsabad, we end with the triumph which attended the final victory of Assyria over Elam. The butchery of the prisoners which followed, the procession of the spoil, the reception of the ambassadors of Ararat, formed the closing scene of Assyrian power, and Professor Maspero fitly concludes with the prophecy of Nahum announcing the vengeance which was so soon to overtake the "bloody city."

As in his description of Egyptian life, so too in his description of Assyrian life, Professor Maspero writes with a lucidity and vividness which leaves nothing to be desired. For his Assyriological information he has gone to the best authorities, and has selected his materials with consummate skill. The story he has constructed is interesting not only to the general reader, but to the scholar as well; and even the specialist will find new points of view opened up to him, and fresh light thrown upon old facts.

I have but one criticism to pass on the book. I wish the Professor had adopted in all cases the spelling of proper names to which the Bible or the writers of Greece and Rome have accustomed us, instead of replacing it by a possibly more correct transliteration of the names as they appear on the native monuments. The volume is intended for popular use, and to the ordinary reader, while "Hethéens" or "Hittites," "Sargon" and "Ararat" are intelligible, "Khiti," or "Sharoukin" and "Ourarti" are not. Much is lost and little is gained by too strict an adherence to orthography in such matters. The scholar is too apt to forget that general intelligibility is of more consequence than a needless exactitude.

A. H. SAYCE.

**The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church.**

*By Frederic Henry Chase, B.D., Principal of the Clergy Training School, Cambridge. (Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature. Edited by J. Armitage Robinson, B.D., Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. Vol. I., No. 3.) Cambridge: The University Press. 8vo, pp. xii. 179. Price 5s.*

THE title of this interesting little book hardly describes its contents. It is less an exposition of the use, fortunes, and forms of the Lord's Prayer in the early Church, than a study of the Lord's Prayer itself, its original wording and meaning. More than half of it is devoted to a very thorough discussion of the meaning of the much-discussed petition, "Deliver us from [the] evil [one]." This begins with a careful investigation of the usage of the prepositions ἐκ and ἀπό after verbs of delivering, the result of which has, however, only a negative value; continues with a valuable word-study of ὁ πονηρός; and closes with an extended statement of the evidence for the gender of τοῦ πονηροῦ. There is much very interesting material in this discussion which no one would willingly spare; and some things, especially in the way of exegesis, which seem overstrained. With Mr Chase's decision for the masculine understanding of the phrase, I personally, on the whole, accord. But is it not a mistake to attempt to demonstrate its correctness? The truth obviously is, that we have here an expression flexible to either interpretation; and this possibility of his own interpretation is all that results from the elaborate investigations of Canon Cook or Dr Lightfoot, of Mr Chase or Professor Potwin. Only contextual considerations in such a case can be decisive of the intended meaning, and these are so subtle that they must be felt rather than reasoned out. When the clause, "But deliver us from the Evil One," is read, as it ought to be, not as an independent petition, but in immediate connection with the preceding clause, "Lead us not into temptation," as forming with it a single petition, positively and negatively stated; it seems to me that most men will, at the worst, undergo an experience similar to that which Dr Vaughan speaks of as attending the presentation of some unfamiliar reading. "At first sight the suggestion is repelled as unintelligible, startling, almost shocking. By degrees, light dawns upon it—it finds its plea and its palliation. At last, in many instances, it is accepted as adding force and beauty to the context, and a conviction gradually forms itself, that thus and not otherwise was it written." (Preface to the Third Edition of his "St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, with Notes.")

Others of Mr Chase's conclusions are more difficult to follow. He considers τὸν ἐπιούσιον in the third petition no part of the original

Lord's Prayer at all, though it occurs in both Gospels, and in all copies, but a liturgical word, invented as the substitute of *σήμερον* and *τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν*. There seems no sufficient justification for so violent an hypothesis. Certainly no additional likelihood accrues to it from the equally unfounded general theory that the two Evangelists record the prayer, not as spoken by Christ, but as current in the liturgical use of their time, not in its first, but in its later form. Nor can I account successful the attempt to connect the variation in the first half of the second petition—"Thy Kingdom come"—which is found *inter alia* in Cod. 700, with liturgical offices. The palæographical explanation that it is a marginal gloss explanatory of the meaning of the petition, afterwards taken into the text, is both in itself more likely, and is supported by the fact that it has been taken into the text at different points. In like manner the addition of "upon me" to the first petition, seems a textual gloss.

Mr Chase's introductory remarks (pp. 1-21) have a very special interest of their own. His conception of the relation of the Church to the Synagogue is not only admirably stated and illustrated, but seems the one conception which will adequately explain the origin and development of the Church order, government, and worship which are made known to us by the early Christian records. It is a pleasure to observe in progress a pretty general return to this conception in the light of the fuller investigations of our day.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

### Les Sources du Pentateuque.

*Étude de Critique et d'Histoire, par Alexandre Westphal. Paris: Fischbacher. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Tome I. Le Problème littéraire, 8vo, pp. xxx. 320. Price F. 5. Tome II. Le Problème historique, 8vo, pp. xxxvi. 412. Price F. 7.50.*

ACCORDING to some who "ought to know," there are, at the present time, manifest signs that the ascendancy so long enjoyed by Germany in the scientific world is beginning to pass from her to her great rival on this side the Rhine. However this may be in the domain of pure science, it is worth noting that of late French scholars, among whom I include those of "la Suisse romande," have been claiming, more and more, to be heard on questions of Old Testament criticism. I need only mention the names of Bruston and Westphal (both of Montauban), M. Vernes, Piepenbring, Montet, and Vuilleumier. Of the work of these French *savants*

the two substantial volumes under review are an excellent specimen. The writer is thoroughly informed as to the latest phases of the Pentateuch question, and, for that matter, of the earliest as well. He possesses the eminently French virtue of "lucidity," and is able to sketch the main lines of an argument without threatening to bury his readers under a mass of detail, as is often the manner of the Germans. There is originality in the book, as we shall see; but its aim is not primarily to contribute to the solution of the problems with which it deals, but to show to non-specialists where precisely we stand at the present moment with regard to these problems, and, in the first volume more particularly, to trace the devious paths by which critics of opposing schools have at length reached a basis of agreement. For, although it is as yet premature to say that "*les partis extrêmes se donnent la main*," it is none the less true that such a basis has been found in the all but universal acceptance of the results of Pentateuchal analysis. "*Sur le terrain de la critique littéraire la paix est signée*"—so ends the first volume, and so the second begins.

After an impartial statement of the traditional view of the authorship of our Pentateuch, M. Westphal sets himself to trace the gradual abandonment of this view, as first obscurely hinted by certain mediæval rabbis and hastened by the intellectual ferment of the Renaissance and the Reformation, which in its turn gave birth to such "pioneers of criticism" as Spinoza, Richard Simon, and Le Clerc. The third and main part of this volume is headed "*La Critique*" (pp. 101-230), and one has to read those clear, flowing pages to realise how pleasant and profitable a thing it is to follow the ever-broadening stream of literary criticism, as now practised at home and abroad, from its fountainhead in Jean Astruc's immortal *Conjectures* (Brussels 1753), by Eichhorn, Ilgen, Hupfeld, and many now but half-remembered names, to its *embouchure* in the now accepted results of the higher critics. A chapter is also devoted to the so-called "fragmentary" and "complementary" hypotheses, though these have now only an historical interest. As this part of M. Westphal's labours has now been for some time before the public, I shall only remark on two noteworthy features of his comprehensive and exceedingly luminous sketch. The one is the poor account which our countrymen give of themselves in these attempts to solve the "*problème littéraire*,"—four or five names in all, out of a total of some hundred and fifty authors whose views are either discussed or referred to. The other is the tardy justice that is here done to the genius of Carl David Ilgen, who in 1798 discovered the second Elohist—now generally designated E—and who in much of his analysis anticipated, by half a century and more, the results of more fortunate but not more brilliant successors.



In passing from the first to the second volume of M. Westphal's work, we pass, as he says, from peace to war, from the all but universally accepted separation of the sources to the still hotly debated question of their relative dates, a question which involves, I need hardly say, the still larger one of the course of Israel's religious history. Here, too, our author arranges his material under three main divisions—(1) General characteristics of the sources (pp. 3-113), (2) comparative study of the sources (pp. 115-247), and (3) the sources of the Pentateuch and the other books of the Old Testament (pp. 248-412). Comparing the whole with Canon Driver's too brief sketch, noticed in the January number of this magazine, one might truly say that, while M. Westphal's first volume forms an appropriate historical introduction to the English scholar's work, or to any other on similar lines, the second volume is an excellent supplement. Westphal has, of course, much more space at command, and altogether a freer hand than Driver. Having, besides, if one may so say, a more popular audience in view, he does not enter so minutely into the details of the analysis, and is thus able to do more justice to the constructive side of the investigation, the part in which Driver's sketch is undoubtedly weakest.

M. Westphal's "general idea" is worthy of all praise. "Dans le labyrinthe," he says in his preface (vol. II. p. xxiv.), "où nous introduit le problème historique du Pentateuque, nous prendrons le Deutéronome pour fil d'Ariane." Deuteronomy is undoubtedly the key to the final solution of the whole problem of the Pentateuch. All fruitful discussion as to the dates of the respective sources must begin with it, and the more thorough has been our study of its contents, and, in consequence, the more accurate our estimate of the social and religious ideas and customs underlying it, the better fitted we shall be to determine its relation to the prophetic narrative (JE) on the one hand, and to the priestly code (P) on the other. Accordingly, a large part (pp. 33-113), perhaps as we shall see too large a part, of volume II. is devoted to an exhaustive study of the critical problems of Deuteronomy. It is, however, in these pages that we find most of M. Westphal's original work. He accepts as the original law-book discovered in the eighteenth year of Josiah chaps. iv. 44—xxvi., xxvii. 9, 10 and xxviii. But he differs from most recent critics in denying the unity of chaps. i.-iv. iv. 1-40, he thinks, originally stood at the end of the Deuteronomic code, not at the beginning. With chaps. xxix. and xxx. it forms part of a minor independent source, "Moses' farewell discourse," later than D and with special affinities to Jeremiah (§ 4, pp. 62-79). The remaining chapters i.-iii.,—and here our author's arguments seem deserving of careful examination,—appear to him to be part of another minor source, to which also chaps. xxxi. xxxiv., and

numerous passages in the book<sup>6</sup> of Joshua belong (see p. 98), and which is here named "Annals of the Conquest." Its author was later than the writer of the primitive Deuteronomy, was acquainted with his work, and wrote in his spirit. The reader must decide how far this is an improvement on the theory of Hollenberg (*Die Deuteronomischen Bestandtheile des Buches Josua, Stud. u. Kritiken*, 1874). A synopsis of the portions of our present book of Deuteronomy—apart from the original law-book—derived from these and other sources, is given at the end of the investigation (pp. 112, 113).

Now, important as a correct analysis of Deuteronomy undoubtedly is, it must, I think, be admitted that for the author to devote to it nearly three times as much space as to all the other sources of the Pentateuch put together, is to court a charge of want of proportion in the arrangement of his material. The chief sin, however, with which M. Westphal may fairly be charged, is not one of commission but of omission. I allude to the too meagre treatment, or rather want of treatment, of the important body of laws, known as the Law of Holiness (Lev. xvii.-xxvi.). A couple of footnotes (pp. 28, 384, 385) is all that is given to the discussion of a point which is certainly of the first importance for a final solution of these problems—namely, the relation in which this originally independent collection of laws stands to the legislation of Ezekiel and the priestly code respectively.

M. Westphal, in the second of the notes above referred to, after rightly rejecting the theory that the prophet Ezekiel may have been the author of the collection in question, merely intimates his adherence to the view of Kuenen and others that it "marks the transition between the programme sketched by Ezekiel and the final text of the priestly code. We have thus three phases of one and the same elaboration" (p. 385).

In a question of such difficulty we must not dogmatise. Still, M. Westphal himself points out (p. 28, note) that H mentions but two kinds of sacrifice, as do JE and D, while Ezekiel "introduces in his legislation, alongside of the *Olah* and the *Zebach-Shelamim* two orders of sacrifice unknown to the ancient kingdom, the sin-offering and the guilt-offering" (pp. 359, 360), a fact which so far goes to show that Ezekiel is here a good step nearer the legislation of P than H is. And the same holds good, as Kuenen is obliged to admit, of the distinction between Priests and Levites, and of the date of the celebration of Maggoth and Succoth, where H agrees with JE and D, not with Ezekiel and the priestly code. May these not be fairly taken as indications that H is older than Ezekiel, though by how much it is impossible to say?

As a set-off to this fault-finding, I hasten to call attention to

what in my opinion is the most valuable part of this volume, that which deals with the comparative study of the various sources under the two heads of history and legislation (pp. 115-247). It is a lucid and careful presentation of the leading points in the position of the newer school of historical critics. The three great strata of the completed Pentateuchal legislation are compared and contrasted in respect of their civil and especially of their religious requirements, the laws of Deuteronomy being taken as the basis of the comparison. As regards the place of authorised worship, the sacrifice, the festivals, the relations of priest and Levite and the like, it is shown conclusively that D occupies an intermediate position between the legislation of JE and that of the priestly code.

M. Westphal thus proves himself an adherent of the now dominant critical school, although his affinity is much greater to Delitzsch and Riehm than to Kuenen and Wellhausen. This is especially evident in his treatment of the famous episode of the finding of the Deuteronomic law-book in the temple (722 B.C.). Indeed, his view of the relation of the author of that document to Moses and of the question of the *bona fides* of Hilkiah and his coadjutors is substantially that of the first-named scholar (pp. 278, 279), while he agrees with both in dating the book from the early part of the reign of Hezekiah, for whose reform D supplied the programme as it did later for the more effectual reform of Josiah. But does so early a date allow sufficient time to elapse between the composition of D and that of the sources of the prophetic narrative (JE), to account for the differences generally between these documents?

There are, scattered throughout the book, not a few beautiful passages such as one hardly expects in a work of this kind. Such, for example, is the description of the teaching of J, as given on pages 12-15. Alongside of this, as an example of neat and happy characterisation, may be placed the estimate of Ezekiel's place in Hebrew history (p. 350), which reminds one of Freeman's estimate of Rome ("Historical Essays," Second Series, p. 237).

There are naturally many minor points in which one may be allowed to differ from the author. Thus—to take the first that comes—on page 163 (vol. II.), I do not know on what authority the statement rests that *qorban* signifies "an offering as demanded by law," and so is distinguished from *minchah*, "a spontaneous gift." And on the following page, footnote (4), it is too hazardous to infer from the isolated occurrence (1 Samuel vii. 6) that on fast days the *nesekh*, or drink-offering, consisted of *water* only. The errata seem very few and easily corrected. Much more serious, in fact inexcusable, is the want of an index to the second volume. A book of

this kind without an index should at once be "slated" by the angry reviewer. M. Westphal's "Sources of the Pentateuch" may be allowed to be the exception that proves the rule.

ARCH. R. S. KENNEDY.

### **The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel.**

*With Notes and Introduction. By the Rev. A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D. Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges Series. Cambridge: At the University Press. 8vo, pp. lv. 368. Price 5s.*

WE have hitherto had no native work upon Ezekiel of original and satisfactory merit. That such a work should now have come to us in the course of a series of educational manuals "for schools and colleges" is like our practical British fashion of doing these things. That its originality and value to scholars should not have been lost by its appearance in such a series, is due to its author being Professor Davidson. His mastery of his subject, his sane judgment and sense of proportion, and his spiritual insight, enable him to produce what is equally lucid to beginners and suggestive to experts. He has already published two school or college manuals—on Job and on Hebrews—which are of the greatest use to the most advanced students. It goes without saying, that this new text-book on Ezekiel is of the same double kind of value—enhanced in degree by the fact that we have no other native commentary on the prophet of respectable rank. The limits of a manual have not allowed Dr Davidson to enter fully into textual questions, or the important historical problem of Ezekiel's place in the development of Old Testament ritual; but these subjects receive much elucidation, and the student will find an exhaustive treatment of almost all the other relevant points. There is the same lucid, faithful, continuous interpretation of the text—as in Dr Davidson's previous works—unmixed as so much exposition is with modern ideas and ingenious speculations of the expositor's own. There is the same rebuke of fantastic, the some completion of one-sided, theories. There is the same grasp of detail in the summary of the prophet's theology; the same ability to look at things from his historical position, the same sympathy with his temperament and circumstance. There is the same full memory of the rest of the Old Testament, out of which the various points in the book are illustrated, and set each in its proper place in the range of revelation. There is the same spiritual insight, which, if it must sometimes pass severe judgment upon the prophet's style and temper, rises to the most warm and infective appreciation of his evangelical passages.

The only points, on which one might have expected more of Dr Davidson's opinion, are the state of Israel in exile, and the influence of Babylonian atmosphere and circumstances upon especially the opening theophanies of the Book.

The most interesting features of the Introduction are these. Upon Ezekiel himself, Dr Davidson emphasises the influence of Jeremiah : Renan's "idea that the prophet's office was limited to the exiles ; among whom he was a sort of pastor, with a cure of souls, is supported by nothing in the Book." The Book is a written Book, "written as it is now," at a late period in the prophet's life. But it contains the "actual oral communications" made by the prophet at the times at which he dates them. "It is beyond belief that so many circumstances, all harmonious if real, should be nothing but elaborate fictions." Dr Davidson's discrimination of the human elements in the prophecy is as strong as his emphasis of the unmistakably divine. "The passage xxix. 17-20 possibly implies that the prophet felt his predictions against Tyre to have received a less literal fulfilment than was expected from them." "It cannot be assumed that the prophet's exercise of his office was just literally such as it is represented. Circumstances of actual occurrence are idealised by him." "The predictions may even have received in some parts a certain colour from the fulfilment." Yet "it may be assumed that the main contents of the oral addresses are faithfully reproduced ;" the prophet's anticipations were verified by history, and his visions of Israel's restoration were, as he felt them, "a revelation of God. And from whence else could his assurance of his people's restoration have come ? There was nothing in the state of the world and of the nations to suggest it, and everything in the past history of the people and their present condition to make it seem impossible." Again, to those, who like Kuenen say that Ezekiel's conception of Jehovah, "the rigidly just one," is a reflection of the prophet's "own scrupulous and precise character," Dr Davidson replies that this is to invert the true order : "the prophet's conception of his office is a reflection, if there be reflection in the case, of his idea of the divine method in dealing with men. It is because God will deal with each man individually that the prophet feels he must warn each separately."

We have no scholar in Britain who has devoted himself to the theology of the Old Testament as Dr Davidson has done, and in this volume he gives us two of his characteristic essays on the subject, "Jehovah, God of Israel," and "Israel, the People of the Lord." Preachers will find those essays of the greatest use. Ezekiel is a Book most preachers shun ; its views of God seem distant and repellent, its morality formal and austere, its symbols and images distasteful to the modern habits of imagination. But in his

essays on the theology of Ezekiel, Dr Davidson disperses these notions. He elucidates "the Gospel in Ezekiel." He shows how near the prophet felt God to be; how vividly he represents God "as endowed with all the attributes and emotions of moral being;" he discerns a tenderness, an urgency, a spirituality and inwardness that might be the second Isaiah's or Paul's own. He explains the austere features in God's presentation of Himself, and clears up the intricate questions of sin and judgment; he expounds the sources and principles of "what was perhaps the greatest contribution made by Ezekiel to the religious life and thought of his time," the emancipation of the individual soul. All this results in an amount of homiletic material and inspiration which ought to make our prophet such a power in the English pulpit as he has never yet been. I note that, on one point, in the exposition of Ezekiel's visions of God, Dr Davidson is not ready to impart so much meaning as others have found in it. That "God has a likeness as the appearance of a man," when taken with the other anthropomorphisms throughout the Book, is no more or less than the expression of the idea of a living personality possessing all the powers of personal being."

On questions of historical criticism Dr Davidson is, of course, less detailed; but his suggestions are many and luminous. On the cardinal question, whether the prophets are correct in their view of the past of Israel as a state of purity of faith and conduct from which the history has been a decline was a historical view, he is explicit. "The unanimous feeling of the prophets as to the past must have a historical ground." On the relation between Ezekiel and the ritual Law he would seem to suspend his judgment. "Inferences from comparison of Ezekiel with the Law have to be drawn with caution, for it is evident that the prophet handles with freedom institutions certainly older than his own time." "Of more interest than the question, What amount of Law was known to Ezekiel in writing? is the other, How much of it was familiar to him in practice? It is evident that the ritual, as it appears in his Book, had long been a matter of consuetudinary law. . . . Ezekiel is no more a 'legislator' than he is the founder of the temple."

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

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**Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Conception of God, as Illustrated by Anthropology and History.**

*By Count Goblet D'Alviella, Professor of the History of Religions at the University of Brussels. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xvi. 296. Price 10s. 6d.*

THIS work forms the Hibbert Lectures for 1891, and, in its scope and spirit, is well in keeping with its immediate predecessors. It is dedicated to the "University of Brussels, founded by private initiative on the principle of free inquiry." Whether in this concise and somewhat ambiguous sentence, the Hibbert Lecture or the University be founded by "private initiative," it is manifest that the author himself belongs to the modern school which, rightly or wrongly, claims to be more in love with truth, and more unprejudiced in search after it, than can be allowed to any other—a claim not quite free from philosophic cant. The position occupied by the author, as professor of the history of religions, implies that he possesses good qualifications for the efficient treatment of the subject in hand, and the contents of the present work will be found fully to justify the expectation so raised. We are glad to welcome another distinguished foreigner as one of our teachers. It is an interesting feature of the present age, suggestive of the broadening sympathies of mankind, that once more a representative of the highest culture of the continent has been selected to open out more fully important avenues of thought for the English speaking race. This is one of the signs that point on to some possible future cosmopolitan organisation for teaching purposes, or, at least, the permanent establishment of a more tangible bond of fellowship between the erudite minds of Europe and America. When, consequent on the social and international changes of the past four centuries, Latin ceased to be in Europe the vehicle of learned thought, it seemed probable that one result would be intellectual insularity with its inevitable narrowness and one-sidedness. To some extent this was the outcome of the change. The philosophy and theology of Great Britain of sixty or seventy years ago doubtless suffered much from our ignorance of continental thought: nor was Germany, on its side, free from the narrowing influence of isolation from the more practical character of English work and the lucidity of French thought and expression. But happily the more wide spread study of modern languages, together with greater facilities for intercourse, has of late done much to compensate for the loss of Latin in the higher departments of literature, while it certainly has developed a more generous sympathy with intellectual strivings wherever they exist.

The object which the distinguished author proposes to himself is to show how the sublimest idea of God hitherto attained by the cultured intellect is the outgrowth, by a process of pure naturalism, from the earliest ideas and feelings concerning supposed powers other than those in the living man, entertained by our pre-historic ancestors. As Evolution is said to have extended along the entire line of inorganic and organic existence up to the appearance of man, and was inclusive of him, so all that pertains to man's religious experience, and especially his conception of a supreme power, is covered by the same law. Judaism and Christianity are, in this respect, simply on a par with the crudest Fetishism and Polytheism. There is no more of the supernatural in the Christ than there is in the megalith to which men of the neolithic age bent their heads. The continuity of an exclusively natural process within the sphere of religion being thus assumed, the manifold researches of geologists and anthropologists are laid under tribute with considerable skill and ardent zeal, in order to trace, so far as may be, the line of evolution from the earliest signs of human thought up to the present day. Under the masterly hand of the author, dry and widely scattered facts of pre-historic archaeology and comparative ethnology, and, some may think, items which are as yet scarcely established facts, are worked up by way of argument and illustration into a very readable form. The first task to which he applies himself is to indicate the methods of research into the manifestations of religion during the vast period that lies at the back of all history. Then comes a bit of philosophy in setting forth what is believed to be the genesis of the Idea of gods generically, as of a mysterious, super-human power, the names and characters of which vary as the evolutionary process moves on among the different races. This is followed by an interesting chapter on Polydemonism and Polytheism, — our author adopting the nomenclature of Tiele rather than that of Tylor in respect to Animism. The question of Dualism, as an advance on Polytheism, is next discussed, leading on, of course, to the highest form of Theism, namely, Monotheism. It might be supposed that here the lecturer would bring his work to an end, as in the idea of God there is no higher point to be reached in the evolutionary process than that. But all through the treatment of the subject the author has sought to show that the idea of God, as such, is inseparably connected with religious usages, and, indeed, is ascertainable almost entirely by the history of such usages. Consequently the fitting close of the discussion is found in an interesting chapter upon the future of worship, so far as it may be anticipated from the growing completeness in years to come of the idea of Divine Unity.

In dealing with a subject so intricate, and involving, indeed, the



mental and religious history of mankind from first to last, the question of method is most important. The thoroughgoing evolutionist has a difficult task before him ; for the latest developments are grounded on the earliest, and how to ascertain what these were is consequently essential to the validity of any scientific account of Monotheism. Count d'Alviella thinks that the entire difficulty is removed by first noticing what the pre-historic men did, in so far as we can learn from the relics of their existence now brought to light, and then by studying the savages of the historic period, in order to find out what religious ideas and feelings were associated with their doing of the same things. On the principle of evolution, the acts and the ideas of the savage of historic times are, where resemblance in the acts occur, survivals of the dim past. If relics of the mammoth age have been found which show that the men of that age were accustomed to bury their dead not without their arms and tools, that clearly points to their belief in another life after death ; because savages of the historic period, who do the same, are known to do it in order to express that belief. In like manner, if the caves of the mammoth age exhibit traces of funeral feasts, that also shows that the men were interested not merely in the memory of friends now dead, but in their continued welfare ; for such is the case with natives of the Red River. Nay, further, if, in the reindeer age, the bones of the dead were painted red with oligist or cinnabar, that would point to a revival, or renewal of existence ; for such is the case among the Mincopies of the Andaman Island and the Niams of Central Africa. Thus it can be shown that pre-historic men, thousands of years before the dim light of early history began to dawn, "believed in a future life, and possessed fetishes, and perhaps even idols."

Some whose opinions are worthy of consideration think that the early developed ideas of the Semites imply that the ancestors of such people started with the full possession of a Monotheistic belief, of which the prevailing Polytheism of subsequent times was only a degeneration. Count D'Alviella contests this view. A bare moral capacity, ignorance, and rude savagery characterised the beginnings of humanity. Among a race more pithecoïd than the men of the polished stone age there arose somehow thoughts of a life other than that in the body—of a force other than that in self ; and these became the germ out of which the highly developed religion of the Semites and other peoples grew. Equipped with the appliances furnished by philology, pre-historic archaeology, folk-lore, psychology, and comparative ethnography, Count D'Alviella seeks to interpret the significance of the ever-accumulating relics of the pre-historic period, and thus lay a foundation for the entire religious thought of the human race.

The "corresponding elements" that may now be detected in historic forms of worship and in popular survivals are, in some measure, to be read into the bones, the caves, the tools, the rude carvings, the modes of interment of the naked, fireless savages of the later palæolithic and subsequent ages.

Perhaps any treatment of pre-historic data for the purpose of ascertaining the exact thought and feeling of the earliest men is open to criticism. We cannot see clearly in the dark, and our artificial lights can penetrate only a little way. Substantially the method here adopted is, no doubt, the right one—the only one—for an evolutionist to adopt. Only there is great risk of putting our ideas into acts which might have been quite innocent of them. Archaeologists may admit that in the caves of Central France, occupied by men of the reindeer age, the body of the dead was buried folded up, so that the knees touched the chin. But Count D'Alviella credits those early savages with considerable knowledge of embryology, when he explains this as being intended to teach that the corpse was intentionally so set in order to represent the position of the infant in his mother's womb—*i.e.*, as one just about to enter on another life. The same undue eagerness to read later ideas into common facts is seen in the case of the rude attempt at a human figure cut in reindeer-horn in the cave of Pont-à-Lesse. This, says our author, "was perhaps an idol." But surely man might learn to draw long before he used drawing for purely religious purposes! Also, one may raise a doubt concerning the beliefs and usages ascribed to the men of the mammoth age, whose relics were found in the cave of Spy. I am not sure, but I suppose that Count D'Alviella, is here referring to the ancient men described so carefully by Fraipont, who represents them as being more pithecoïd than any others known to us, seeing that our author also speaks of them as supplying a new link in the descending scale from man to animals. The intellectual development in this case seems to be in excess of the physical.

The ground traversed in the chapter on the genesis of the Idea of God has of late years been beaten rather hard. According to Count D'Alviella it is to be traced to the tendency to unwarrantably extend the notion of personality; the investing of living forces with mystery and superiority; the logical fallacy of confusing *post hoc* with *propter hoc*; the disposition to turn dreams into realities; and the creation of the idea of the "double" out of the notion of the soul going out of the body in dreams. Max Müller's prominence, in the genesis of the Idea of God, to the conception of cause behind all phenomena, is not brought out as fully as might have been.

We have next an interesting chapter on Polydemonism and Polytheism in which our author differentiates Spiritism, Fetishism, and

Idolatry. Unless we believe that some form of Monotheism was the primary heritage of man, it would seem to follow that the origination of the initial god, or germ of a god, was by each man for himself, so that from the first there would be laid the foundation of the more systematised polytheism of historic times. It is an error to suppose that a mere material object—a stone—as such, is the object of adoration. The ancient megalith and the small stone of the more modern savage are more than solid things. Some kind of agency, or power, or personality is associated with natural objects. Man having formed the idea of his own “double,” which can in thought be separated from the body, as when the mind in dreams goes off on the chase, it becomes easy by analogy to separate the personality or power from the natural object. In this way the distinction between body and soul is extended to all personified objects. Hence there is a spirit of the tree, the sea, the wind and the volcano. But many of the objects thus personified pass from view—they cease to be as truly as do men. The result is that the unseen becomes peopled with souls, spirits. In this account of spirits Count D'Alviella differs from Mr Herbert Spencer, who holds that spiritism arose from the worship of the dead; or, more strictly, that spirits are dead men, whose individuality, by lapse of time, has been effaced. The items of fact quoted from books of travel among savages sometimes point one way, sometimes another. Chinese traditions seem to favour Mr Spencer's view. Possibly wise men will be content to wait for further information.

The “spirit” is aloof from body; the *fétish* is represented as a thing appropriated in order to secure the services of the spirit supposed to have lodged within it. There is, however, a fetishism, as among the Ostiaks, which is only another name for physiolatry; and, again, another which is practically necrolatry. The differentia of the *idol* is that it is an elaborated fetish. The simplest origin of idolatry is that, when a worshipper believes in a spirit, he would feel himself in closer communication with it if the form of the object reproduced the likeness of the spirit. In that case all true idols are fashioned, or are selected, to conform to the ideal entertained of the invisible spirit which is the real object of worship. Other probable origins of idolatry are mentioned, but in every case the mind of the worshipper seems to be primarily intent on the spirit that is to be embodied; as may be seen by referring to the tendency to worship rocks or trees that recall by their outline the human figure, and also to the singular Chaldean custom of providing fantastic forms of animals in order to attract spirits of sickness from taking their abode in human bodies. In the course of time the human form became predominant; either because man began to feel that he was the most exalted being in nature, or because, by con-

stantly attributing human sentiments to the gods, he was instinctively led to lend to them also the corresponding figure.

To some readers the latter part of Chapter III. on the Divine Hierarchy will prove especially interesting. The human mind cannot rest in a chaos of thought. Even the deities must be classified. The idea of procedure which obtains in human affairs becomes transferred to the world of spirits. The superhuman powers which man suffers to exist around him are differentiated on the principle of importance to man, either as guardian, or helper, or enemy. As the result of study in detail on this subject, it is concluded that four categories of superhuman beings must have taken precedence of the common herd of spirits at an early stage, namely, the great deities of nature, the spirits that preside over the most important factors of human destiny, the genii of species and of social groups and the souls of the illustrious dead.

But this differentiation is only a step to a distinction between the spirits,—which practically cease to be gods as hitherto—and the gods. The invisible world is reduced to an order of subordination of the inferior to the superior after the model, in some degree, of what prevails among men. The social and political order of human beings is idealised and transferred to a higher region. Here some interesting matter is brought in to illustrate this principle—in the respective Polytheisms of the Indo-Europeans, the Egyptians, the Mesopotamians, the Western Semites, the aboriginal Americans and the Chinese. As one instance of this tendency to construct the celestial hierarchy after the model of the earthly state, mention is made of Greece (Indo-European) in the time of Homer; where the great gods “correspond to the local kings, whose assembly is presided over by the King of men, just as the Olympians gather under the presidency of Zeus; and the power of Zeus is no more absolute than is that of Agamemnon over his allies.” On the other hand, “the popular assembly of the Agora has its counterpart in the gathering of all the divine beings to learn the will of Zeus.” Neither Socrates nor Plato succeeded in raising the popular conception of the divine unity any higher. It is, however, not easy to see the application of the principle to the Hebrews. Count D’Alviella, following Renan, speaks of “the Jahveh Sebaoth, the god of the celestial armies, surrounded by a veritable *divan*.” But we should remember that the fundamental conception of the Hebrew Deity was held to be a sole and absolute monarchy, when under Moses the state was not a monarchy. If later on the qualification Sebaoth was used it was only in keeping with the most ancient statement that God was the Creator of the heavens and the earth, and, Gen. ii. 1, the finisher of “all the host of them,” to which, most probably, there is a reference in Isaiah xl. 26, where,

see v. 28, Jahveh is identified with Elohim and Creator. Students of comparative religions, constantly find the same difficulty of making the entire facts of Hebrew religion square with hypotheses that may perchance be applicable to other religions. May it not be well to accept this recurrent difficulty as a phenomenon demanding for its solution a broader philosophy? Modern philosophical thought is bound to eschew the old scholastic error of laying down a definite rule to which every fact that comes across our path is perforce made to conform itself.

The tendency of human thought is towards unity, but there are many stages before this is attained. So the tendency of thought in relation to the gods is in the same direction, but before unity can be reached there is a seeming rest in dualism. That dualism has figured prominently in some religions is obvious. The question examined in the fourth chapter is, how it arose? It is assumed that the gods of polytheism borrowed some of the characteristics of their worshippers and became selfish, and that this issued in an alliance for mutual advantage—the god would favour the nation, and the nation would suppress other rival gods. But mythology, springing from a natural tendency to give form to certain ideas, would accentuate whatever religion might suggest. The primal element of Dualism is to be found in important deities being regarded as presiding over beneficent phenomena, in contrast with other deities supposed to preside over maleficent phenomena. The advance of religion means the development into clearer form of this antagonism; and the more clear and assured the idea of cosmic order becomes, the more sharply defined is the antithesis of good and evil. It is in this broader conception of a regular order of phenomena, with a beneficent result, that the old conception of caprice in the gods is finally lost. In due course, the events that work out for good are regarded as under a supreme god, and those which work out otherwise are under an inferior god. The forms of Dualism assumed by different religions will be determined by the ideas prevalent where the religions exist. Egypt, Germany, India, and Persia became dualistic variously. Reference is made to the Hebrew conception of evil angels under Satan. But our author should have noted that this is not the Dualism of *gods*. Nowhere is there a representation of a rival to Jahveh, who has independent control even of the forces of Nature which bring suffering. If the dramatic form of teaching in Job be referred to, it is to be remembered that even there Satan can only do *as* he is allowed. Also, it would perhaps have been well, were it possible, to give a more complete genesis of the Zoroastrian Dualism. We sadly miss the chronological ascent from crude Polytheism to the peculiar Dualism of Persia. Evolution is shown best by the production of the actual links in the chain of progress.

The latter part of this chapter is devoted to an exposition of the "Struggle for Good," in which the gods and men are concerned; and it is pointed out that the conception of the moral order is on the model of the cosmic order, and that out of the inequalities of this life and the often apparent injustice to the good, there arises a moral ground for belief in a future life in which the conflict between the dual powers will issue in triumph for the good. Thus Hesiod, in his *Works and Days*, is one in teaching with the book of Job. Bishop Butler, then, only developed an ancient doctrine. Naturally this leads to the representations of the future life as either one of bliss or of woe; and here our author gives us references to Assyria, India, the South Seas, as well as to Mahomedan and Christian teaching.

The final stage in the conception of God is that covered by the term Monotheism. This is to be distinguished from Monolatry, which rests simply on the belief in the superiority of the national God. In some countries, at a comparatively early date in history, Polytheism co-existed with the idea of a supreme God—one who was over both gods and men, and the active minds of those ages framed divine genealogies of all who had a place in the national pantheons. The supreme God among more cultured peoples was regarded as the Father. The philological identity of *Dyaushpita* = *Zeûs πατήρ* = Jupiter reveals a remarkable unity of belief among widely separated nations.

The place of metaphysics in the development of Monotheism deserves some attention. The original conception of the supreme God was rather that of greater power: thought advanced to the distinction between power and nature, so that ultimately the Supreme Deity was regarded as supreme by reason of his nature as well as in the exercise of power. But obviously pure monotheism is not reached as long as any distinction is made between superior and inferior gods. How then is the passage to be made from this qualified monotheism—which is really polytheism more elaborately graduated—to real monotheism? The answer given by Count D'Alviella is substantially this: by a process of philosophising the deities below the Supreme God are at last regarded not as beings, but as forms or names. Without using the term disrespectfully, I may say that an ingenious use is made of the Egyptian names of deities to establish this crucial point. The nature of the process is indicated by the words, "All that was now needed was one more effort of abstraction to put above and behind this triad the being in which it was resumed, and into which, so to speak, it melted. That higher unity was sometimes found in the first person of the triad, regarded as reproducing itself by eternal generation; sometimes in 'a spirit more spiritual than the gods; the holy soul which clothes itself with forms, but itself remains unknown,'" p. 214.

The latter part of the chapter on Monotheism is devoted to an elaborate discussion of the more recent applications of philosophy to solve the problem of the Supreme Existence. The author does not commit himself to any dogmatic statement concerning the source of all things. He calls attention to the trend of thought being rather in the direction of a modification of the views of Spencer on the side of Theism; though one could have wished for a little more explicitness as to the position taken by the author himself. His apparent discouragement of the idea of a Divine Personality leaves much to be desired.

Our author's view of the Hebrew conception of God will scarcely commend itself to many of his readers. Following in the wake of Renan, Stade, and others, he holds that the God of Abrahamic times and the Jahveh of later times were tribal, local. Because the Hebrews spoke of the "God of Israel," and "the God of Abraham," it by no means follows that they thought of their God as the polytheistic nations around thought of theirs. In the midst of heathenism what better expression could be found for indicating their own faith? We sometime even now speak of the Christian's God. Do we mean that He is only one among other gods? Are we tolerant polytheists? It is significant that Christ, whose monotheism was unquestioned, used the expression "God of Abraham," as also did Peter in the remarkable assertion that it was the "God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob," who raised up Christ. The often quoted words of Jephthah, "Wilt thou not possess that which Chemosh thy God giveth thee," are adduced as being conclusive. But would it not be more reasonable to base our view of the Hebrew conception of God on the general drift and form of teaching rather than on a sentence which certainly may be taken as an *argumentum ad hominem*, seeing that Jephthah was supremely anxious to coax his enemy into friendliness? The Elohist writer of Gen. ii. 1, vi. 12, 13, and the Jehovistic writer who represents Abraham appealing to "the Judge of all the Earth," could hardly have been thinking of a local deity. Whether the command to destroy all idols of conquered peoples, and to abolish their gods, was in keeping with polytheistic practice, Count D'Alviella has practically settled by teaching that the gods of conquered people passed into the service of the conquerors, p. 207.

The closing chapter is devoted to the forecast of the worship of the future under the influence of the more philosophical conception of God, which it is thought will become more and more prevalent. The author does not commit himself to any definite view of the Ultimate Reality. His position is rather that of a watchful and waiting eclectic who is desirous of availing himself of the elements of truth in the more advanced systems of thought. Evidently he considers that worship is essential for the satisfaction of the indes-

tractible yearnings of human nature ; and in this respect he must feel that Spencer's position as a philosophical Agnostic requires some qualification. One would need to have more than a Power, or Energy, in order to restful, elevating worship. As of old, the "heart crieth out," 'even amidst the most strenuous philosophical strivings,' "for the living God."

CHARLES CHAPMAN.

### Das Hauptproblem der Evangelienfrage und der Weg zu seiner Lösung.

*Eine academische Vorlesung nebst Exkursen von Dr Paul Ewald.*

Leipzig: Hinrichs. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 256. Price M 7.

THE title of this work arouses at once curiosity and hope. There are so many problems of great importance in connection with the study of the gospels, that one is curious to know which of them can fairly claim to be the "chief problem." And since so many theories on the subject have proved to be a *cul-de-sac*, and to lead *obscuræ ad obscurius*, it is refreshing to be assured that there is a path that leads to light ; and though many questions of minor importance may, and will, remain unsolved, yet the question of prime importance is on "the way to solution." What, then, is *the chief problem of the Gospel question*? Dr Ewald replies that it is to explain how it has arisen that we have two such diverse accounts of the life and work of the Lord Jesus as are presented to us in the Synoptists on the one hand, and the fourth Gospel on the other. Accepting both as equally historical and truthful, how comes it to pass that while the three Synoptists agree to such an extent in their choice of material (having, roughly-speaking, two-thirds of their matter in common), and agree in their delineation of the Christ, in their limitations as to the duration and locality of our Lord's ministry—not one of them mentioning a ministry in Judea until the last ; yet in the fourth Gospel, we have so much new material, a fresh kind of discourse, a more exalted delineation of the Christ and a new sphere of activity—Judea, almost to the exclusion of Galilee? Granting that the Lord Jesus *did* at the very first spend a long time in Judea, and did there, before He preached at Nazareth (Luke iv.), make so many disciples that news was brought to the Pharisees "that He made and baptised more disciples than John" — granting that He did visit Jerusalem periodically at the feasts, and did there deliver the Johannean discourses, how has it arisen that three men in presenting to us a life of Jesus, are at one in their silence as to the successes in Judea



and are agreed in giving what Dr Ewald calls a one-sided account of the Saviour's life and ministry. This is rightly called "the chief problem" which the thoughtful believer has to solve. Cherishing these views, Dr Ewald has no words but those of wonder and censure, not only for scholars like Wittichen, who can compose a "Life of Jesus" without so much as mentioning the fourth Gospel, with the exception of the *pericope* about the woman taken in adultery; but also for all scholars who have devoted their attention to the Synoptic problem and the Johannean as two isolated studies, without recognising that the two are inter-related at every step. Every theory, therefore, designed to explain the phenomena of the three Synoptists, which is incompatible with the phenomena of the fourth as a genuine history, stands, in Dr Ewald's regard, as self-condemned.

The theories adverse to his own are by our author divided into two classes. (1) Those which explain the omissions, divergences, &c. of the Synoptic Gospels, by the assumption that each writer was influenced in the selection of his material by a preconceived literary plan (*Die planmässige Auswahl*). Dr Ewald passes under searching review (*a*) those who consider this alone to suffice for the elucidation of the problem, from Irenæus and Epiphanius to Delitzsch and Hengstenberg; and in reply says that it is "incredible that three different authors, with three different plans, should have produced so similar, and so one-sided a selection of materials, and so similar and one-sided a description of Christ's Person and Works" (page 101). (*b*) Those who modify the theory of "selection in accordance with a plan" by the theory that two of the evangelists were partially indebted for their materials to the work of one of the others, altering their copy in details under the influence of their own dominant idea. The radical error of one and all is that they offer no explanation as to why the equally historical events of Jchn's Gospel are entirely ignored. If it is asserted that the first Gospel has "a polemical tendency and was designed to exhibit the guilt of the heads of the house of Israel in view of the unexpected fulfilment of prophecy," would not the events which occurred amid the growing opposition of Judaism (John ii. iii.) have exhibited this, as well as those in Galilee? If it is affirmed that the second Gospel has for its aim to describe the beginning of Christ's mission, is there not some assignable reason why "the beginning of this beginning" in the Judean ministry, is passed over in silence? If Luke's design was to describe the way of salvation "from the Temple to the metropolis of the world," can any theory of the Gospels be deemed adequate, which attempts no explanation as to why, in accord with the other Synoptists, Luke leaps over some of the most significant parts in the Saviour's earthly history? (page 9.)

(2) There is another set of theories for the solution of the Synoptic problem, which Dr Ewald brings together under the heading of *the fixed tradition*. It is supposed by many scholars that we have in the Synoptic writings, a sort of "precipitate" of the history of Christ's earthly life, which had been "held in solution" in the consciousness of the primitive Church, but had been "thrown down" by means of an apostolic consensus followed by oral catechising, or by the influence of a written document which contained all the matter common to the three Synoptists. The theory of "oral tradition" started in Germany by Gieseler, and for many years all but supreme in this country, is discussed at length, and then announced to be fully exploded. Dr Ewald will not admit, as the above theory seems to require, that it formed any important part of the work of the Apostles to narrate the events of Christ's life in the course of their ministry. They were "witnesses of the Resurrection." He appeals to the Apostolic sermons given in the Acts, in which the details of Christ's life are not spoken of; especially to Acts x. 37, where Peter passes over these events as well known to the friends of Cornelius; and dwells at length on the fact that so few of the events of Christ's life, and so few of His sayings as recorded in the Synoptics, are recorded in the Epistles. Dr Ewald judiciously weeds out one by one many of the citations and references to the Synoptic tradition, which are adduced from the Epistles, by Dr Resch in the "Agrapha," and then asks if the scant residue allows us to believe that there was a canon of discourses selected by Apostolic consensus, as the basis of their instruction. Had this been so, would the Apostles, we are asked, have failed to embody *verbally* more of the sayings of the Lord Jesus in their Epistles? But the great argument against Oral Tradition as a valid solution of the whole Gospel question is, in our author's regard, that it attempts no explanation as to why so many of the most precious of the utterances of Christ are not found in the Synoptic Gospels. There are several ways in which the one-sidedness (*Einseitigkeit*) of the Synoptists has been explained. These receive attention from our author and are summarily dismissed. (1) There is the view of Weiss that the Johannean discourses "slumbered" in the minds of the disciples, until, connected as they were with the theological development of the one disciple John, they received from him their own peculiar stamp. (*Biblical Theology*, page 50 English Edition.) Dr Ewald maintains that it is psychologically impossible that these recollections should have "slumbered" in the mind, not merely of one witness, but of all. And if the *discourses* slumbered, what about the startling successes in Judea, when they baptised in Christ's name so many disciples as to vie in multitude with those of John! (2) Reference is then made to Ebrard's

theory that the Synoptists were well acquainted with the Judean ministry, but it did not fall within their literary plan to describe more than the Galilean ministry, with the exception of the events connected with Christ's Death and Resurrection. Chiefly on the ground that the distinction is not thorough-going, that John gives us some new Galilean events (as the marriage at Cana), and the Synoptists also give some of the Judean events of the Passion, Dr Ewald dismisses far too lightly a hypothesis which possesses much probability, and is needed to give cogency to his own theory. (3) It has been maintained by Eichhorn, Gieseler and Wetzel that the incompleteness of the Synoptic narratives is to be explained by the desire to present, first, a course of elementary instruction as to Christ's life; and afterwards the more profound of the Saviour's utterances—those of a more esoteric character. There is no doubt that on the whole there are more profound and mystical utterances in the fourth Gospel than in the other three, but Dr Ewald has no difficulty in showing that this remark does not apply to *all* the new matter in the fourth Gospel. "Was the first miracle," he asks, "through which Jesus revealed His glory to His disciples not suitable for the first instruction of the disciples of those disciples? (John ii. 11). Were the precious words of the Baptist as to the bridegroom who has the bride, and as to Him who must increase while the Baptist decreases, less instructive than say Jesus' words as to the difference between His followers and those of the Baptist? (Matt. ix. 14; xi. 7). Was the temple cleansing at the beginning of His ministry more mysterious than at the end?" &c. &c. (page 133).

And now it is high time that we raised the question as to what is in Dr Ewald's esteem, "the way to the solution" of the "chief problem." As we have said, Dr Ewald considers the fourth Gospel just as historical as the Synoptics, or, as he prefers to say, the Synoptics as historical as the fourth Gospel. He firmly believes, also, that the utterances of Christ as recorded by John, though not committed to memory, had a very profound effect upon the thinking of the primitive Church: and his endeavour to prove this, constitutes the most interesting and original part of his work. There was then, at first, one broad stream of Reminiscences in the early Church. The first to divert part of this stream into a distinct channel is Peter, who, as narrated by Papias, handed over to Mark a series of incidents which most deeply impressed his mind, and these were, by Mark, transmitted to writing. As to the extent of this original work, Dr Ewald examines at length the theories that it was longer, and that it was shorter than the canonical Mark; and decides that it was almost identical with it. The only portions of our present Gospel, not found in the Ur-Marcus are

Mark i. 1-3 ; vii. 24 to viii. 26 ; xvi. 9-20. The reasons given for the omission of the introduction are purely subjective. Against the originality of the *middle* section, the chief reasons assigned are (1) that Luke, who up to this point rigorously follows Mark as to the course of events, omits entirely the incidents here recorded. (2) the vocabulary and the style of composition are in many respects unlike the rest of the Gospel.

The second great channel, diverting another part of the original stream, is the collection of the Saviour's discourses by Matthew. Dr Ewald is of the opinion that the *Logia* consisted exclusively of discourses, with the exception perhaps of very brief introductory remarks noting the circumstances in which they were spoken. The *Logia* contained, he maintains, all the discourses of Matthew, with the exception of those in chap. xviii., which, for various reasons, our author excludes from the Ur-Matthæus.

A third smaller selection is to be found in the middle of Luke's Gospel, ix. 51-xviii. 14. This deeply interesting portion contains several discourses which are also found in Matthew, and thus are borrowed from the *Logia*: and there have been those who have also ascribed to the *Logia* the discourses found *only* in this section. Our author examines the subject at length (pp. 213-237), and from considerations of style and language comes to the conclusion that the linguistic features differ from those of Matthew and of Luke himself, and present such agreement among themselves, that one is obliged to infer that those sections in "the great interpolation" which are peculiar to Luke were written by one author, and formed one small document, which Ewald designates R. On this point the reasons assigned seem conclusive.

The one-sidedness of the Synoptics is explained, then, by personal considerations. Peter did not attempt to write a complete history. He gave to Mark, from time to time, a string of incidents in which he was interested, and Mark wrote them down. Matthew collected some of the discourses. On what ground his selection was based, I cannot find that our author ventures an assertion; though we should have expected him to hazard some reason why the *Logia* did not include the Johannean discourses. From these two sources our present first Gospel was in the main composed. From these, with the addition of R. and an occasional reference to the canonical Matthew, Luke compiled his Gospel, and the second Gospel is almost identical with the Ur-Marcus.

After giving off these side channels, to keep up our author's simile, there still remains the Johannean matter. This had entered deeply into the Church's life, had richly influenced its thinking, but had not been committed to writing until the beloved disciple undertook the pleasant task. Dr Ewald is at his best in the elaborate

argumentation, by which he shows (1) that the historic setting of the fourth Gospel is presupposed in the Synoptic Gospels; and (2) that the Johannean discourses are embodied in the theology of the first century. On the first point, it is well known that the Synoptists do not expressly state that Jesus visited Jerusalem as a Teacher until just before his Passion: and yet, the Judean ministry is *implied* and *demand*ed by the Synoptic account. English scholars are familiar with the able way in which this is demonstrated by Bishop Westcott, in his "Introduction to the Study of the Gospels" (pp. 281-6), and the German scholar has not much to add. But on the second point he is much more original. He takes up numerous expressions which occur more or less frequently in the fourth Gospel, and which many scholars have regarded as Johannean, and endeavours to show that, since they occur here and there in the Epistles, and in sub-apostolic literature, they cannot be ascribed to the individuality of the one apostle, but are the veritable utterances of the Lord Jesus cherished in the memories of the Apostles, the germs of their theological thought. The coincidences between the fourth Gospel and the Epistles are used by Dr Ewald as proof of the historicity of the Johannean discourses. Of course, our author is aware that there is another hypothesis by which the resemblance *might* be explained. Since John's Gospel was confessedly written after the Epistles, it might be alleged that possibly John was the borrower; and Dr Ewald would have strengthened his position, if he had bestowed more pains on showing the improbability of this, instead of dismissing the idea once and again as "inconceivable."

Space will not permit me to deploy our author's arguments as fully as I could wish. I can do little more than furnish references, and leave the reader to verify them.

In Luke xxii. 24-37, in the account of the Last Supper, there are two sections not found elsewhere; one on the dispute as to precedence, the other as to the need for buying a sword: and Dr Ewald ingeniously points out the resemblance between these and (1) the exemplification of humility shown on the same occasion, in washing the disciples' feet, and the subsequent exhortation on the subject (John xiii. 1-20); and (2) the warnings as to anticipated tribulation in John xvi.

Then he appeals to the *Epistle of James*. Dr Plumptre has done good service in showing the coincidences of thought between this Epistle and the Synoptic Gospels. Dr Ewald deserves equal commendation for disclosing affinities with the fourth Gospel. Compare James i. 18: "Of His own free will begat He us, by the word of truth," with, "the wind bloweth where it listeth, &c.," "born from above" (John iii. 7, 8). "Sanctify them *by Thy truth, Thy word* is

truth" (John xvii. 7). Compare "The perfect law of liberty," James i. 25, with John viii. 31, "If ye abide in My word, ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." Compare the phrase, "The Lord of Glory," James ii. 1, with passages in John xvii.: the antithesis between "God" and "The world" in Jas. iv. 4, with John iii. 16-21: and the passage, "Do not hold the faith . . . with respect of persons" (James ii. 1) with John v. 44, "How can ye believe who receive honour from one another"—and as the result of our comparisons, must we not say that Dr Ewald is justified in the exclamation, "It is neither James nor John who has coined these phrases," the originality lies with the Lord Jesus.

Even more striking is the comparison which Ewald institutes between John viii. 31*ff.*, and James i. 22*ff.*, where we have parallel phrases occurring in the same order.

John viii. 31, *sqq.*

If ye abide in my word

Ye shall *abide*

Ye are *truly* my disciples

And ye shall know the truth

And the truth shall *liberate* you

Every one that doeth sin, &c.

James i. 22, *sqq.*

If any man be a hearer of the  
*word*

And *abideth* therein

*Not* . . . *deceiving* yourselves

He that looketh into the law  
*shall be blessed* in his doing.

The perfect law of *liberty*

Being not a forgetful hearer.

After this, Dr Ewald examines the first Epistle of Peter. He first compares "The Lamb without spot," i. 19, with John i. 29: "Feed the flock of God," v. 2, with John xxi. 15: and "The chief shepherd," v. 4, with John x. 11. Then he shows how every phrase in 1 Peter v. 2-4 finds its parallel in John x. "Shepherdise the flock, not of constraint but willingly," recalls the words of Jesus: "No one taketh My life from Me, I lay it down of Myself." "Not for filthy lucre" = "The hireling careth not for the sheep." "Not lording it, &c." = "The good Shepherd giveth his life for the sheep." "Ensamples to the flock" = "The shepherd goeth before them." "The chief shepherd" = "I am the good Shepherd." Then other passages are adduced, and the combined effect of the whole is certainly favourable to our author's contention, that the Apostle's language was moulded by reminiscences of the sayings of the Lord Jesus.

Then our author passes on to the *Epistles of Paul*, and here we feel that he is on less secure ground. Paul did not hear the Saviour speak. His mind was not saturated with Christ's discourses, and though many striking coincidences are adduced, we feel that sufficient allowance has not been made for the influence of the Spirit of Christ in the Apostle, guiding him into all truth. Dr

Ewald takes up the chapters of Paul *seriatim*, and finds in almost every chapter, striking affinities with utterances of our Lord in John's Gospel. The most remarkable is the comparison between Romans viii. and John iii. Both contain the antithesis between "flesh" and "spirit." Both speak of God's "sending His own Son," and both adduce this as a *proof* of the love of God. Further, in Rom. vi. 17, we read of "The type of teaching whereunto" the Romans "were delivered:" and the immediate context, about being "The servants of sin," abounds with Johannean parallels, as viii. 34, v. 36. Interesting, too, are the affinities between John x. 17, and Phil. ii. 8, 9; John xv. 12, and Eph. v. 2; John xvi. 11, and 1 Cor. ii. 10; and especially between the first few verses of 1 Corinthians, and the high-priestly prayer. Though the case does not seem so strong for the Pauline Epistles as for the others just named, the evidence is strong enough to make it very probable that the Saviour's discourses, as recorded by John, had in Paul's day largely influenced the thought of the entire Christian Church.

And now a few words by way of criticism. As to the Johannean problem, Dr Ewald's studies, in the wake of those of Dr H. J. Holtzmann (*Einleitung* 452) and others, open up an interesting field for investigation; but even if in this sphere, diverse inferences are drawn from the same phenomena. As to the original "Sources" of the Synoptics, Dr Ewald certainly does not give us "the last word." The touchstone which he applies to other theories is—Can they explain the "one-sidedness" of the Synoptic narratives? Does his theory stand this test much better than those he condemns? *Why* did Peter omit the startling events of the Judean ministry in the "Notes" he gave to Mark? *Why* did Matthew, in his collection of "Utterances" omit the touching discourses preserved in John's Gospel? I am not aware that Dr Ewald attempts a reply. Ebrard's answer that they intentionally confined themselves almost exclusively to Galilee, he will not accept, though this seems the best reply he could have given.

Is it not high time that some different method of investigation was attempted? There must be a fault in the method that leads every investigator to a separate goal. We never arrive at certainty. The multitudinous theories all hover between greater or less plausibility. In the pages of the *Expositor*, I have recently advocated the employment of a Linguistic method. I must not presume to occupy space here with a repetition of what is accessible to all readers of the *Critical Review*. If substantiated, my theory will, at all events, give us a basis of *facts*. The results thus far arrived at are deeply interesting, as they lead one to believe that a record of most of the events of the Galilean ministry was at one time extant in Aramaic; and that in these portions, the Synoptists translated

from an Aramaic exemplar. The events of the Judean ministry, on the other hand, give no evidence of having existed other than in Greek. We wish, however, to proceed with caution, and if we can only lay a substratum of facts which will stand the test of scientific investigation, it will be preferable to the building of a gigantic structure, so attenuated, that it only endures till the next investigator assails it.

J. T. MARSHALL.

### The Canon of the Old Testament.

*An Essay on the Gradual Growth and Formation of the Hebrew Canon of Scripture.* By Herbert E. Ryle, B.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Cambridge: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. 304. Price 6s. 1892.

THE work here undertaken by Professor Ryle is one which has been for some time greatly needed. No book on the subject in this country—if we except that of Dr Samuel Davidson, which is little more than an expanded *Encyclopædia* article—and few in Germany could be named as giving a clear and succinct account of current scholarly opinion on the Canon of the Old Testament. The obscurity that has surrounded the subject, and permitted traditional beliefs of little critical value to hold the field, has not been cleared away till very recently. Indeed, even yet much of the work done can only be considered as tentative, and the results reached little more than provisional. But an account of this work in easily accessible form was a desideratum, and the gap could hardly have been better filled than by the volume before us. The work of Dr Frantz Buhl of Leipzig, a translation of which appeared almost simultaneously with Mr Ryle's book, by no means covers the same ground. Hardly a third of it is devoted to the subject of the Canon, and but a few pages in all are concerned with the problems which Professor Ryle sets himself to solve.

The Introduction to the work points out the obscurity in which the subject of the formation of the Old Testament Canon is involved through the absence of trustworthy external evidence, and shows how popular assumptions or learned speculations have thus far taken the place of sober and accurate enquiry. The method now to be pursued consists of a critical examination of the books themselves. An account is then given of "The Preparation for a Canon" made in comparatively early times, so far as the documents before us enable us to trace it out. The Songs, the Laws, the History, the Prophecies which went to form Hebrew literature before there was any thought of forming them into a collection of



sacred books, are described in brief outline. This forms the first of three stages which Professor Ryle distinguishes in the history of Hebrew literature. These are, "Firstly, the 'elemental' stage, or that of the formation of the literary antecedent of the Books of the Old Testament ; secondly, the 'medial,' or that of their reduction to their present literary form ; thirdly, the 'final,' or that of their selection for the position of honour and sanctity in the national Canon of Holy Scripture." (p. 17.)

There are also, however, according to Professor Ryle, who here only represents the views of all the most competent scholars, three stages in the process proper of forming the Canon ; or, as he phrases it, there are three canons discernible in the history. The beginnings of the first Canon are traced to the discovery of the Book of the Law in the time of Josiah, 621 B.C. The importance of this event, and of what we should call the publication of Deuteronomy—a people's not a priest's book—is pointed out. The first Canon was completed, we are told, soon after the Exile, when Ezra's "book of the law," our Pentateuch, was completed and accepted as sacred and authoritative Scripture. This was found to be insufficient, inasmuch as the element of prophecy was absent, and the process of selection of the earlier prophetic, or, as we call them, historical books, and of the later or distinctively prophetic writings, was proceeded with. The circumstances under which this was carried on and brought to a close, are obscure. Mr Ryle, in common with Buhl and other modern writers, fixes the century 300-200 B.C. as the time in which this work was done. The *termini a quo* and *ad quem* can be fixed with tolerable ease, though the exact dates and circumstances are hidden from us. The third Canon is that of the *C'uthbhim* or "Writings." Here we have some external evidence to guide us. By means of the Greek Prologue to Ecclesiasticus on the one hand, and the evidence of the New Testament, 4 Esdras and Josephus on the other, we can fix the limits within which this last stage of the process was reached. The Canon was practically closed, according to Professor Ryle, about 105 B.C., while the formal or official closing did not take place till about 100 A.D. The significance in Jewish religious and literary history of the two periods, 160-105 B.C., and 90-110 A.D., is well shown by the author.

The latter chapters of the book are occupied with an account of the later Jewish testimony, the history of the Hebrew Canon in the Christian Church, and a minute and somewhat technical discussion of the arrangement of the books. Several valuable excursions give an account of traditional beliefs in the Jewish Church, which are traced as far as possible to their sources, together with a list of important quotations, and a table showing the arrangement of the Hebrew Scriptures in the chief documentary authorities.

As to the way in which Professor Ryle's work has been carried out, it must be said first, that there is a clear distinction between the history of Old Testament literature and the history of the Canon. One who undertakes the task here essayed must not trespass on the province of Professor Driver's "Introduction." Nevertheless, it would be perhaps impossible at any time, and it would be particularly undesirable just now, that a writer on the Canon should eschew altogether the problems raised in the history of the literature. Buhl rules these out almost entirely, and the earlier part of his book loses in value and interest accordingly. Professor Ryle appears to us to have chosen his course most judiciously, and to have sketched the history of Jewish literature as he conceives it with sufficient precision in its outlines, without allowing himself to be drawn into the discussion of details which do not concern him. This manifest advantage has, however, the corresponding disadvantage, that the writer cannot always make clear the evidence on which he relies for the positions taken up. But such limitations are necessary in almost every work.

The next point which calls for comment is the spirit in which the investigation is undertaken. In these transition days this feature is of cardinal importance. Professor Ryle's motto, *nec temere, nec timide*, sufficiently shows his aim, and in that aim he has been abundantly successful. We cannot recall any publication of modern times which combines so completely the twin essential qualifications of fearlessness and caution as does this essay. Canon Driver is, if we may say so, at the same time more cautious and less safe. He more frequently suspends judgment upon questions of detail, yet, at the same time, more frequently commits himself to principles the practical results of which are questionable. But it is invidious to compare two excellent works similar in spirit, method, and aim, and worthy of the best traditions of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

We greatly value the additional testimony afforded by Prof. Ryle's work that fearless enquiry into the literary history of Scripture need not be rationalistic, and that the clinging to traditional beliefs does not by any means necessarily imply a religious spirit. As he well says, "Voluntary humility is linked so closely to the indolent desire for interposition within the laws of our nature, that rather than acknowledge in Scripture the presence of the limitations of the human intellect, or patiently unravel the gradual unfolding of the Divine will by the instrumentality of human weakness, it prefers to assume that human powers were made Divine, and raised above the liability to error and imperfection." (p. 13.) It is far too often assumed that there is something essentially pious in the maintenance of the highest theory of inspiration, and something essentially irreverent in the enquiry into the

structure of Scripture which reveals a gradual process of composition and "canonisation" carried on under human limitations, instead of a sudden and complete illumination or a continuous miracle of Divine intervention. Now, the present writer at least is by no means prepared to accept all the conclusions even of the moderate critical school to which Prof. Ryle belongs. When external evidence is discarded or not forthcoming, the conclusions adopted on internal evidence alone, and that often very scanty, must possess an element of subjectivity and uncertainty which renders it exceedingly hazardous to rest much weight upon them. Some of the positions of the Oxford and Cambridge Professors are, in the writer's opinion, very doubtful. But the spirit in which Prof. Ryle pursues his enquiry is so essentially reverent, that the publication of this book should help rapidly forward the much-to-be-desired reconciliation between the spirit of free critical enquiry, and the spirit of devout recognition of the Divine Hand in Scripture.

Amongst the marks of Prof. Ryle's healthy conservatism we might specify, as examples, his mode of dealing with the text of 2 Kings xi. 12 (p. 43), his rejection of the idea of collusion in the discovery of Deuteronomy, and his general treatment of the subject of vocabulary as an evidence of date (p. 79). Chiefly, however, we note his repeated insistence upon the distinction clearly marked by Canon Driver, between the time of the final compilation of a document in the form in which we possess it, and the actual age of its contents or subject-matter. Whether we are dealing with laws, with history, or with psalms, this distinction is one of vital importance, and one which has not received sufficient recognition from the more advanced critics. Wellhausen, in his treatment of the Pentateuch, and Canon Cheyne, in his treatment of the Psalter, alike fail to give to it sufficient weight. Doubtless it is mainly a question of degree, for neither of the distinguished critics just mentioned fails to recognise the principle. Whether Prof. Ryle allows sufficiently for the antiquity of the material embedded in the Priests' Code, or the considerations which point to an early date for a large portion of the Psalter, despite the lateness of its admission into the Canon, may be questioned. That is not his main theme. But it is a question which his readers cannot help often asking themselves; it is one on which everything depends for the construction of a history of Hebrew religion, and the connection between the history of the religion and the history of a sacred Canon is very close.

We should be disposed to say, for example, that Prof. Ryle, like many other critics, presses at times the argument from silence too far. On p. 72, for example, he speaks of Jeremiah "being unaffected by the Law of Holiness" (Lev. xvii.-xxvi.), in order to show that the priestly regulations were collected and codified be-

tween the time of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, whereas Jeremiah's whole plane of thought hardly allows of our saying what his relation to those particular chapters really was. Again, the inferences drawn from the passage, Nehem. viii. 13-18 (misprinted "Ezra" on p. 76), concerning the people's ignorance of the way in which to celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles, seem too sweeping. Again, the often-repeated argument based on the use of the term *Mazzebah* in Isaiah xix. 19, that the writer could not have been acquainted with the prohibition of Deut. xvi. 22, assumes that these "pillars" were always associated with idolatrous worship, which usage does not warrant. Again, we should be inclined to lay more stress upon the passages which refer to the practice of storing the archives in the sanctuary (see p. 41) than Prof. Ryle seems disposed to do, and less upon the evidence of date afforded by the prevalence of Deuteronomic style and thought (p. 64). Other points on which it would be very possible to break a friendly lance with the author, are the evidence of date afforded by a comparison of the Hebrew and Greek texts of the Torah (p. 87), and the history of the formation of the Psalter (p. 127).

But it is obvious that the number of detailed questions upon which individual students may differ in pursuing an enquiry so long and complex as that here undertaken, is exceedingly great. Many of them, too, can never be definitively determined, and room for variation of opinion must be left. It is important, however, at present that there should be a clear understanding as to the *measure* of inference concerning the early religion of Israel legitimately deducible from the documentary evidence before us. A writer upon the Jewish Canon, who glances also at the history of Jewish sacred literature, must be careful as to the tone in which he speaks of the earlier stages of Jewish religion. The value of the literature, both for the purposes of history and religion, depends very largely upon the age of its contents. Prof. Ryle is by no means extreme in the positions he takes up, but he (perhaps necessarily) assumes much which he does not stay to prove, and draws many inferences in harmony with current critical conclusions which may not improbably have to be modified. A long history of Christian thought and life lay behind the processes which led to the completion of the Canon of the New Testament. A similar history preceded the completion of the Canon of the Jewish *Torah*. It is no fault of Prof. Ryle that he does not describe or dwell upon this, for that was not his immediate subject. But a clearer recognition of the fact would have given a different, and to our mind a more satisfactory tone, to some of his pages.

Once more, however, we would emphasise the indubitable excellence of a work which deserves to be, and probably will be, a

standard one in its own department. Its scholarship, complete but never obtrusive, its candour, its clearness, its devout and reverent tone, its fearless and yet careful presentation of evidence and the inferences legitimately following, its lucid style and compact form, all combine to make it an admirable guide for the English student. Prof. Ryle has produced a work which, improved as it probably will be in successive editions, is worthy of the Cambridge historical theological school to which it genetically belongs. The traditions of a Lightfoot and a Westcott at the University of Cambridge are thus happily preserved. The conditions of our knowledge as regards the books of the Old Testament make it altogether impossible to reach the measure of certainty attainable in the case of the New. But in spirit and method this work may worthily stand side by side with Bishop Westcott's on the Canon of the New Testament: higher praise than this it would be difficult to give.

W. T. DAVISON.

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### **The Fourth Gospel; Evidences External and Internal of its Johannean Authorship.**

*By Ezra Abbot, D.D.; A. P. Peabody, D.D.; and J. B. Lightfoot, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 8vo, pp. 171. Price 7s. 6d.*

THE form of this book is somewhat unusual. It consists of an Essay by the late Ezra Abbot, a composition of the editor himself, and a lecture by the late Bishop Lightfoot, all on the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. It is a good idea to bring together different compositions bearing on the one subject, and in these days, when so much useful matter is scattered abroad in reviews and elsewhere, the plan of this book may be worth imitating in other cases where no impediment is offered by copyright or other difficulties.

Dr Abbot's essay on the external evidence of authorship has been published in several forms already, and will be well known by name at least to all students of the Johannean problem. It is especially notable for its treatment of the question as to the use of the Gospel by Justin Martyr. Dr Peabody writes on the internal evidence, and puts in a new and striking, though perhaps somewhat imaginative way, some of the arguments that are taken to show that the author must have been an eye-witness of the events which he relates. He sees, for example, in the Gospel "unmistakable tokens of senility, which accord with the tradition that John wrote it in his late old age" (p. 117). He says that he never knew in actual life "a more real genuine character" than the man born blind. He asks, "What sort of a person would a blind beggar be in one of

our quiet, stationary, not over-crowded towns or cities? He would be treated good-naturedly, but not respectfully. The street *gamins* would chaff him, and make fun of him; and many older persons, especially when they put their small coins into his wallet, would discharge at him their harmless volleys of coarse wit. His own wit would be sharpened by theirs. He would give as he received. He would in every such encounter be quick in appropriate rejoinder. He would be no respecter of persons, but would have a ready answer, and that almost always a smart repartee, for whatever was said to him, by gentle or simple."

"Now, this blind man," he adds of the man depicted in the Gospel, "is just such a person. He has not had the use of his eyes long enough to stand in awe of the Pharisees. They cannot get round him. He chaffs them unmercifully. . . . This man is painted to the life. He must have told the story himself, what the Pharisees said to him, and what he said to them; and it is manifestly rehearsed in the Fourth Gospel by one who enjoyed it, and was greatly amused by it at the time, and took pleasure in recalling it years and years afterward" (pp. 119, 120).

Bishop Lightfoot's lecture originally formed one of a series connected with Christian Evidences, and delivered in St George's Hall in 1871. It was not printed at the time; but he prepared it for publication during his last illness, and it appeared after his death in the *Expositor* for January, February, and March 1890. In some prefatory remarks he explains that the delay in publication was not due to any change of mind on his part as to the value of the argument, but to a sense of the injustice which would be done to the subject by such imperfect treatment as alone time and opportunity allowed. A rumour had got abroad, he says, that he did not allow the lecture to be published because he was dissatisfied with it. But the present publication was his answer to that rumour. It is a great change to pass from Dr Peabody to Dr Lightfoot. The calm, clear style, and the wide knowledge and accurate scholarship, make this essay easy and attractive reading. There are some points, however, in which we venture to think that it is open to criticism. Let us take one example to which, as far as we know, attention has not been called elsewhere.

The most striking passage in the departed scholar's lecture is that in which he depicts the situation of Shechem and the scene around Jacob's Well, and connects the picture with the narrative in the fourth chapter of the Gospel. It would be impossible to do justice to this passage by any summary of its contents. We must therefore transcribe the whole of it.

"The country of the Samaritans lay between Judæa and Galilee, so that a person journeying from the one country to the other, unless

he were prepared to make a *détour*, must necessarily pass through it. This was the case with our Lord and His apostles, as related in the fourth chapter. The high-road from Jerusalem passes through some very remarkable scenery. The mountain ridges of Ebal and Gerizim run parallel to each other from east to west, not many hundred feet apart, thus enclosing a narrow valley between them. Eastward this little valley opens out into a plain, a rare phenomenon in this country,—‘one mass of corn unbroken by a boundary or hedge,’ as it is described by one who has seen it. Up the valley westward, shut in between these mountain barriers, lies the modern town of Nablus, the ancient Shechem. The road does not enter the valley, but traverses the plain, running at right angles to the gorge, and thus touching the eastern bases of the mountain ridges as they fall down into the level ground. Here, at the mouth of the valley, is a deep well, even now descending ‘to a depth of seventy feet or more,’ and formerly, before it had been partially filled with accumulated rubbish, we may well believe deeper still. In the words of Dean Stanley—

“Of all the special localities of our Lord’s life in Palestine, this is almost the only one absolutely undisputed. By the edge of this well, in the touching language of the ancient hymn, “*querens me sedisti lassus*.” Here, on the great road through which “He must needs go,” when “He left Judæa, and departed into Galilee,” He halted, as travellers still halt, in the noon or evening of the spring day, by the side of the well. Up that passage through the valley His disciples “went away into the city,” which He did not enter. Down the same gorge came the woman to draw water, according to the unchanged custom of the East. . . . Above them, as they talked, rose “this mountain” of Gerizim, crowned by the temple, of which vestiges still remain, where the fathers of the Samaritan sect “said men ought to worship.” . . . And round about them, as He and she thus sate or stood by the well, spread far and wide the noble plain of waving corn. It was still winter, or early spring, “four months yet to the harvest,” and the bright golden ears of those fields had not yet “whitened” their unbroken expanse of verdure. But, as He gazed upon them, they served to suggest the glorious vision of the distant harvest of the Gentile world, which with each successive turn of the conversation unfolded itself more and more distinctly before Him, as He sate (so we gather from the narrative) absorbed in the opening prospect, silent amid His silent and astonished disciples” (pp. 160, 161).

It would be pleasanter to put all thoughts of criticism aside, and yield one’s mind to the influence of the charming picture that is here delineated. But we must not forget that this picture is part of an argument. It is like a pillar supporting the stone roof of a

cathedral, which may be very beautiful to look at, but must conform to the laws of statics as well as of æsthetics. And the picture has its points of difficulty. The principal of these is the old one, which appears to have been felt since the earliest times, of the distance of Nablus from the well, nearly two miles.<sup>1</sup> This is a twofold difficulty, (1) because the Gospel speaks of arriving at the well as arriving at Sychar, and (2) "notwithstanding all that has been said of the predilection of Orientals for the water of certain springs or wells (Porter, *Handbook*, 342), it does appear remarkable, when the very large number of sources in Nablus itself is remembered, that a woman should have left them and come out a distance of more than a mile" (G. in Smith's *Diet.*, Art. "Sychar"). "Dr Rosen says that the inhabitants of Nablus boast of the existence of not less than eighty springs of water in and around the city" (H. B. H., *ibid.* Art. "Shechem"). And in ancient as well as in modern times the valley has been famous for the fertility that depends upon its water supply. This difficulty of the distance of the well from the town would of course be aggravated if, as now seems most probable, we are compelled to suppose that the sixth hour means noon, for such a journey would be the less likely to be undertaken at that hour of the day.

There appears to me to be another point open to question in the exposition of this passage which I have not seen noticed elsewhere. Both Bishop Lightfoot and Dean Stanley speak of the road which passes the entrance of the valley as the main road to Galilee. But the ordinary road to Galilee is that which enters the glen, and turns north after passing Shechem. It is true that Robinson says that he was told that the other road led to Jenin, where it would have joined the Shechem road, and so would have also led to Galilee. But he adds that the more usual route at the present day is that through the Shechem valley. In the survey map this Shechem road is the only one that leads to Galilee. The other is shown as a Roman road leading down to Beisan (Bethshan), which would be a roundabout way to Galilee, and there is no road connecting it with Jenin or any western route. It appears from several passages in "Early Travels in Palestine" that the Shechem road has long been the ordinary route,<sup>2</sup> and it would seem likely that the road which led by Shechem and Samaria would be very ancient.

<sup>1</sup> "We were thirty-five minutes in coming to it from the city" (Robinson, *Bib. Researches*).

"I rode with Rashid to the mouth of the valley, to visit Jacob's Well. The distance was just half an hour" (Robinson, *Later Researches*, p. 132).

<sup>2</sup> It was the road by which Saewulf travelled in A.D. 1102. "The city of Nazareth of Galilee," he says, "is about four days' journey from Jerusalem, the road lying through Sichem, a city of Samaria, which is now called



Another criticism that might be made is that the supposed allusion to the surrounding corn-land in the words "lift up your eyes, and look upon the fields," &c., pre-supposes an interpretation of those words which is not by any means universally accepted. Indeed, the weight of scholarship seems to incline the other way. Alford is but following in the wake of some of the ablest scholars of former times when he says "of these much controverted words," "*I do not believe there was any allusion to the actual state of the fields at that time.*" He takes the view that the words were proverbial and general.<sup>1</sup> And even if we take for granted that there was an allusion to the actual state of the country at the time, is it certain that the appearance of the fields of Palestine, when it is yet four months to the harvest, is correctly described in the words "one mass of corn," or "the noble plain of waving corn," or "the bright golden ears,"<sup>2</sup> upon which so much of the effect of this descriptive passage depends?

These criticisms may show that the local allusions in the fourth chapter are not without difficulty. And, strange though it may appear, we can claim Bishop Lightfoot himself as having been of that opinion. For in the *Contemporary Review* for May 1875, he writes of the supposed discovery that Sychar was not Shechem, but the village now called Askar, near the foot of Mount Ebal, as "a fact of real importance in its bearing on the historical character of the fourth Gospel" (p. 860).

But it is impossible to be satisfied with this modern identification of Sychar with Askar. The evidence of Jerome alone is conclusive against it. Jerome passed through Sychem or Neapolis on his tour

Neapolis," &c. ("Early Travels in Palestine," p. 46). In the year 1163, Benjamin of Tudela travelled from Accho to Jerusalem by the same route (*Ib.* p. 81); "Sir John Maundeville" from Jerusalem to Galilee in 1322 (*Ib.* 181-3); Henry Maundrell, in 1697, from Acra to Jerusalem (*Ib.* 432, 435, 436); Conder, in 1875, from Jerusalem to Galilee ("Tent Work," ii. p. 176, 177), &c., &c.

<sup>1</sup> See especially the note of Maldonatus on this "sub-obscurus locus." He compares the Latin proverb "adhuc seges in herba est" (? "Sed nimum properas, et adhuc tua messis in herba est," Ovid, *H.* 17, 263). Archdeacon Farrar says that if the words be taken as a proverb, "there are parallels both in Hebrew and in classic literature," "Life of Christ," Vol. i. p. 207, Note 1.

<sup>2</sup> The date of the Jewish harvest was fixed by the calendar. Barley harvest began at Whitsuntide, and wheat harvest at Easter (Levit. xxiii. 4-21. Compare Jos. "Antt." iii. x. 5, 6). Four months before either of these dates there would be very little appearance of the promised crop. J. Lightfoot thinks that the crops could not have been yet sown, and that it was in reference to the approaching crowds of Samaritans that Jesus said, "Lift up your eyes, and look upon the fields," &c.

through Palestine with Paula in the year 385, and visited the church which was built over Jacob's Well. After this he settled in Bethlehem, where he remained till his death in 420. At Bethlehem he would have been in communication with all sorts of travellers and students, and would hear all that was to be said about the controversy as to the site of Sychar. In 388 he translated the treatise of Eusebius (about A.D. 264-340) on the names and position of places in Palestine, in which Eusebius says that Sychar lay by the side of Louza, which was nine miles from Neapolis. Jerome corrected this nine to three. But in the same year Jerome published his own notes on Genesis, in which he said that Sychar was a copyist's error for Shechem. Paula died in 405. In her *epitaphium* Jerome again says that Sychar was a copyist's error for Shechem. Is it conceivable that all this time the real city of Sychar was in existence within a few hundred yards of the church which Jerome visited from Neapolis in the year 385, that it was visible from the church,<sup>1</sup> and that it still exists, retaining even a recognisable semblance of its ancient name? If the name is recognisable now, it ought to have been recognisable by Eusebius and Jerome and the other inquirers of those early days. But Eusebius, a native of Palestine, looked for Sychar near Louza nine miles away, and Jerome did not find it though he visited the spot. There were other inquirers then, and before and after, but none of them discovered 'Askar. Jerome's opinion became the accepted one. "Omnes docti consentiunt, auctore Hieronymo," writes Maldonatus in 1596 (on S. John iv. 5). Sichar et Sichem aut Sichimam eandem fuisse urbem." Our own John Lightfoot gives good reasons for being of the same opinion. "Be it read whether way it will, Sychar or Sichar (as such changes are not strange) the place and city apparently was the same with Sichem, so famous in the Old Testament. And that appeareth plain by this, that it is said there was the portion of land which Jacob gave to his son Joseph, which plainly was Sichem (Gen. xxxiii. 18, 19; and xlviii. 22)." <sup>2</sup>

It does not lessen the force of this reasoning that there were a few like the Bourdeaux pilgrim, Eusebius, and Quaresimus (see B. Smith's *Dict.*, Artt. "Shechem" and "Sychar") who held that Sychar was distinct from Shechem. It only shows that they felt the difficulty of the identification with Shechem. If Askar was the right place, why did they not discover it and establish its claim?

<sup>1</sup> "Little more than a third of a mile north-east is the tomb of Joseph, and from this a path gradually ascending leads to the village of 'Askar, which is visible from Jacob's Well."—CONDER.

<sup>2</sup> "Harmony of the Four Evangelists," John iv., Vol. i. p. 593. Compare also Joshua xxiv. 32, and Acts vii. 16. And see also the whole of Alford's note on John iv. 5.

The late learned Canon Williams, we are told, was one of the earliest to advocate the view that 'Askar was Sychar (Edersheim, Jesus the Messiah, App. xv.). As to the likelihood of the name Sychar having changed to 'Askar, it may be mentioned that Dr Robinson is supported by other scholars when he says that "the name 'Askar, in its present form, begins with the letter 'Ain; and this circumstance at once excludes all idea of affinity with the name Sychar" (*Later Res.* p. 133). If this be so, it is a heavy addition to the weight of evidence against the 'Askar theory.

JOHN A. CROSS.

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### Essays on Literature and Philosophy.

*By Edward Caird. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. Cr. 8vo, Vol. i. pp. xi. 267; Vol. ii. pp. x. 268-553. Price 8s. 6d. nett.*

WRITING an essay is like painting a small picture; each artist has his own method of overcoming the difficulty imposed by limitation of space. There are those who, like Sainte Beuve, prefer to "work in a corner;" they do not look beyond the one thing they are at: others, again, and Mr Caird is of the number, must give the one thing its place in the wide world; they put a suggestion of the solar system into a few square inches of line and colour. When Mr Caird takes up Rousseau or Wordsworth he gives us, not an individual portrait, but an estimate of the man and his work, viewed in relation to the general movement of human thought and experience.

In the writings of Dante Mr Caird finds the best expression of the dualism of the mediæval Catholic mind. Even the greatest teachers of the thirteenth century were not free to form their own ideals; they were in bondage to the letter of the texts on which authority was based; they attempted to reconcile religion with science and law by drawing a boundary line between faith and reason, Church and State, the present world of probation and the future world of fruition. The attempt was mistaken, for, if truth be one, there can be no antagonism between reason and faith. Church and State must be "brought to a unity as complementary manifestations of one principle of life, which at once reveals itself in their difference, and overcomes it." This world is not merely a place of preparation for another world; the kingdom of God must be set up here and now, so that those who see it may say, Behold the tabernacle of God *is* with men! The truths which Mr Caird here expounds bear not only on the criticism of Dante, but on the politics of our own time; the mistake of the schoolmen is repeated by all who leave religion out of account in forecasting the future of political society

whether they be of those who think that putting off the old man means putting off the good citizen, or of those who regard the State as a machine put together for merely utilitarian ends.

The papers on Goethe and Rousseau are good examples of Mr Caird's method. He sets the two writers before us as expressing the true mind of the eighteenth century, its denial of received beliefs, its desire to make all things new. Men turned from authority to nature, but, as Voltaire observed, they did not make it quite clear to their own minds what "Nature" meant. "Nature," says Mr Caird, "is the obvious rallying cry of a new generation striving to free itself from the ideas and institutions of an earlier time. Such a cry may often be the expression of a very artificial and sophistical state of mind, which, beginning in the desire to throw off that which is really oppressive, ends in a fretful revolt against the most necessary conditions of human life." From this revolt Goethe was saved by his artistic sense, and also, it must be confessed, by the cool self-regard which carried him safely through a period of struggle and revolution. Rousseau was not a whole-hearted rebel; he preached the necessity of returning to Nature, but he was not the dupe of his own eloquence; the dangerous half-truth of his political theory is always checked and qualified by occasional passages of common sense. But the strain of madness in his blood sharpened his accent, and made him the prophet of political fanatics whom he would have disliked and distrusted if he had been brought into personal contact with them. The doctrine which he preached with a qualification was accepted by the extreme democrats of Europe and America without any qualification at all. Here, again, Mr Caird is dealing with topics of living interest. The *incivisme* of Goethe is reproduced in those of our own contemporaries who stand aloof from popular government, disliking the noise and worry of it, lending no help to make it more rational. Rousseau is the spiritual father of all such as believe that we can bring about a "return to nature" by destroying established institutions and conventions.

Wordsworth, whose poetry furnishes the subject of another essay, was in no sense a disciple of Rousseau; he was, before all things, an Englishman, and his slight attack of humanitarian exaltation had no more permanent effect on his mind than his one excess at a Cambridge wine party had on his habits. Shelley and Byron, as Mr Caird expresses it, belong to the Revolution; Wordsworth belongs to the Reconstruction; "his poetry carries us into a new intellectual region, in which the ideas of the Revolution have not perished, but have, as it were, risen again in a better form." With Rousseau, the return to Nature had ended in a claim of unbounded liberty for the individual man; Wordsworth sees that the individual is worthy

of regard only by virtue of the family, the country, the faith, which have made him what he is.

In his essay on the "Genius of Carlyle," Mr Caird has another opportunity of combating the error of individualism. Carlyle, he says, "had no firm grasp of the organic unity or *solidarity* of human life, or of the creative powers of those social forces which arise, not from the individuals taken separately, but from the way in which they act and re-act upon each other in society." Hence it is that he looks at history and politics from the heroic point of view, and denounces mankind at large because they will not give free scope to the power of the "man who can," forgetting that absolute submission on the part of the people is not compatible with a truly heroic virtue on the part of the king.

I have not left myself space for an adequate description of the three philosophical essays which make up the larger part of Mr Caird's book. In the first of the three we are invited to face the Problem of Philosophy; and the problem is, "to rise to such a general view of things as shall reconcile us, or enable us to reconcile ourselves, to the world and to ourselves." And philosophy is to begin its work of synthesis by a vindication of the religious consciousness, by showing how the consciousness of the infinite is presupposed in that very consciousness of the finite, which sometimes claims to exclude it altogether. If the lectures which Mr Caird is to deliver from the Gifford Chair at St Andrews present us with this vindication in a systematic form, they will go far to justify the existence of that remarkable foundation. In the meantime we turn to the essay on Cartesianism to learn how the problem of philosophy was answered in the seventeenth century. Des Cartes, a man full of the modern spirit, but finding "within human experience, among the matters nearest to man, the consciousness of God," sets himself to account for our consciousness of God and for our consciousness of the world. The starting point is the consciousness of self: *cogito, ergo sum*, but I cannot know myself as finite unless in relation to the infinite. "To be conscious of a limit is to transcend it. . . . We could not be conscious of our existence as individual selves, unless we were conscious of that which is not ourselves, and of a unity in which both self and not-self are included." There is, therefore, an assertion of universality and unity in the system of Des Cartes, but it is a one-sided assertion, and neither Malebranche nor Spinoza succeeded in working himself clear from the imperfections of a mistaken method. It was only "when the individualistic tendency of the eighteenth century had exhausted itself and produced its own refutation in the works of Kant," that men turned again to Des Cartes and Spinoza and discovered the true value of their writings.

Of the long essay on "Metaphysic," which occupies the larger half of Mr Caird's second volume, there is only one complaint to make: the pages are so closely packed with meaning that we find ourselves dealing with a compressed book, not with an essay in the ordinary sense of the word. The reader who has read and thought less than Mr Caird (and this is certainly my own case) has many occasions to regret that he cannot put the author to the question, and obtain a fuller explanation of these pregnant sentences. Perhaps the most significant passage, that which best explains the aim and scope of these volumes, is the account given at p. 534 of the relation between the Hegelian idealism and Christianity. "It was the study of Christian ideas which first produced the Hegelian philosophy. What delivered Hegel from the mysticism in which the late philosophies of Fichte and Schelling tended to lose themselves . . . was his thorough appreciation of the ethical and religious meaning of Christianity. In the great Christian aphorism that "he who loseth his life alone can save it," he found a key to the difficulties of ethics, a reconciliation of hedonism and asceticism. For what this saying implies is that a spiritual or self-conscious being is one who is in contradiction with himself when he makes his individual self his end." These sentences seem to me to sum up the essential meaning of what is best in the philosophic movement of our time.

T. RALEIGH.

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### Untersuchungen zum Ersten Klemensbriefe.

Von Lic. theol. W. Wrede. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht's Verlag. London and Edinburgh; Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 112. Price M. 2.50.

It is sometimes assumed that after the work of a Lightfoot upon a epistle like *Clement* there remains little or nothing yet to be done. This is far from true. Apart from Lightfoot's studious self-limitation to certain aspects of his author, much light thrown by his and other men's labours upon incidental points yet requires focussing upon large questions of intrinsic interest for the age of the "Apostolic Fathers." This excellent monograph takes in hand two such topics,—to wit, "The Situation of the Corinthian Community presupposed in *Clement*," and "*Clement* and the Old Testament."

Its author begins by stating the peculiar relation subsisting between the main object of the epistle and the actual line of treatment pursued. The aim—the re-establishment of harmony and order in the distracted Church—is patent, and emerges frequently. But the writer beats about the bush a good deal, going off at

incidental points, and treating them with less direct reference to the special circumstances than might be expected. After signaling this mingling of the general and specific, which is most marked in the first half (especially chs. 28-36), Wrede postpones speculation thereon until he has discussed two vital features of the case. These are introduced by an enumeration of the "fixed points" upheld by a general consensus—viz. (1) the strife at Corinth turns on the rightful authority of Presbyters, certain of whom had been deposed, and that by the Church itself (47, 6; 44, 6); (2) the source of the uprising was a small knot of persons (ὀλίγα πρόσωπα), who also remained its soul (14, 1; 51, 1; 57, 1); (3) the Roman epistle identifies itself out and out with the deposed officials over against the Church. Indeed, Wrede regards its tone as that of a partisan, probably not much concerned to learn all the facts, and accordingly not presenting a purely objective diagnosis of the case. This much said, he proceeds to establish, after a fair and convincing review of other hypotheses, the following positions relative to the present Epistle at least:—The term *πρεσβύτεροι* has a wider *natural* use (indicated by antithesis to *νέοι*, 1, 3; 3, 3; 21, 6; cf. 1 Peter v. 1, 5; 1 Tim. v. 1 *seq.*; Tit. ii. 1, 6; &c.) equivalent to our "seniors," as well as a narrower *official* sense, specifically applicable to the *ἐπίσκοποι* as a class (τῶν καθεσταμένων πρεσβυτέρων, 54, 2; cf. 44, 4, 5); yet so as to include rather than exclude the closely related *διάκονοι* (42, 4, 5), it being perhaps more than an accident that Clement never writes *πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι*. The parallel use of *ἡγούμενοι*, in passages which are exhaustive enumerations of the community (1, 3; 21, 6 *seq.*), confirms this inclusive meaning, apart from which it would be hard to see why *ἐπίσκοποι* is not habitually used of the officers rather than the vaguer *πρεσβύτεροι*.

Both of these conclusions are entirely in keeping with the Jewish associations of the term "elder," and in the very fluidity or ambiguity of its use we can recognize the period of naïve transition, when a title of "honour" (τιμὴ) is hardening, though only gradually, into one of official status (τόπος, 44, 5). This is how things grow to-day in the mission-field, as of old, when as yet the analytic categories of the critic are undreamt of.

As to the functions of the Presbyters or Bishops (Deacons being subsumed as their assistants), Wrede infers from the Epistle that *λειτουργία* is in general used vaguely—like our "function"—to cover not only discipline, but also *cultus*, such as the offering of the people's gifts, the outward expressions, especially in kind, of their inward sacrifice of praise (44, 4, *προσενγκόντας τὰ δῶρα*, cf. 35, 12,—36, 1; see Lightfoot *ad loc.*). As yet the Old Testament analogies, though big with danger for the future in the sweeping way in which they are invoked as normative, are simply used, as are also

those from Nature and the body politic, to enforce the principle of order and respect for those legitimately installed in office and found blameless therein (*cf.* Lightfoot, i. 392). Next, as to the obscure question of the exact competence of the Church as such, our author maintains (1) that the point of the reference to the "consent of the whole Church" (44, 3) in the appointment of the now deposed officers, is the *self-contradiction* implied in their present action, whatever may have been the exact part played by them in the election itself; (2) Clement regards the officers, in view of the quality of those who, in keeping with apostolic order,<sup>1</sup> instituted them the legitimate overseers, as possessing a life-tenure of office dependent only on a worthy walk; (3) in normal times the administrative or disciplinary functions are in the hands of the Presbyter-college rather than the Church directly (*pace* 52, 2). But to speak as yet of fixed "rights," as between Officers and Society, would be an anachronism.

These preliminaries clear the way for the main problem of "the authors of the dissension" (*ἀρχηγοὶ τῆς στάσεως*). Broadly speaking, we may say the community adopted their case, not *vice versa*: as Clement says, they "laid the foundation" of the trouble. The effort throughout is to discredit these men; to separate (57, 1) them from the sympathy of the Church, which is assumed to be otherwise ready to return to its wonted peace (*cf.* 54). How then are the mischief-makers painted? As headstrong (1, 1), arrogant, unruly, jealous (14, 1), hypocritical in their professed desire for peace (15, 1), exalting themselves over the flock (16, 1), boasting in arrogance of speech (*τοῦ λόγου*, 21, 5; *cf.* 57, 2), self-complacent as to gifts both moral and intellectual (32, 4; 48, 6). To what does all this point? To men claiming special recognition for exceptional qualities, to which the common path of "humility" amid the flock at large seemed to give too little scope. The support, moreover, which such "men of repute" (*ἐλλόγιοι*, 57, 2), obtain from the Church, even in their attempt to get official status (*cf.* Hermas, *Vis.* iii. 9, 7 *seq.*), shows that there was a real basis for a special claim, and not, as Clement seems to hint, one only in their own conceits. We may reasonably connect their powers of edification with those of the "prophets and teachers" of the *Didaché*; the more so that even Clement hints that, if public-spirited enough to retire, they will find a welcome in any other church (54, *cf. Did.*, 13, 1). Such gifts at least would be likely to win the admiration of the "juniors" (*νέοι*),

<sup>1</sup> Surely the best analogue to the mode of appointing to the "Episcopate," after the Apostles' death (44, 2, 3), is that given in the basis of the *Apostolische Kirchenordnung* (c. 16, *Ap. Texte u. Unters.* ii. 5), where *ἐκλεκτοὶ τρεῖς ἄνδρες* are invited from sister churches to help a very small church in appointing its bishop. This they do *δοκιμῇ δοκιμάσαντες τὸν ἄξιον ὄντα*.



to whom there are pointed references, to whom also the recognition of "gift" rather than "age" would present larger prospects. But they would bring their possessors into collision with "the Presbyters" in the sphere of Cultus, and to judge from ch. 44 (where ἐπισκοπή and προσφέρειν τὰ δῶρα stand side by side: cf. also 43, 2, ξίλου ἐμπροσθέντος περὶ τῆς ἱεροσύνης—the case of Aaron), particularly as regards the "thanksgiving" of consecration, where with the people's free-will offerings were presented to the Giver of all good (see *Didachē*, ix. f.; cf. ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν as title of προφήται in virtue of such a function).

As to the actual occasion of the dissension, which seems to have crept on gradually (3, 2), it is possible that the Church may have been predisposed to look with special favour upon the challenge of exclusive privileges enjoyed by its officers, if smarting from the effects of the latter's vigorous discipline—a view which finds some countenance in certain references to the morals of the community (cf. 28-36). Wrede at least believes that prior to this crisis the Roman view of the divine nature of order had been tacitly recognised at Corinth, as we may perhaps infer that it soon again came to be. But this only serves to show how powerful was the latent sense of the claims of those spiritual gifts, whose place in the Church we have re-discovered by the aid of the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*.

Enough has been said under the above heads to indicate the importance of Wrede's work, although its value lies largely in the richness of the material collected in the footnotes, of which no idea can here be given. The second part, devoted to Clement's use of the Old Testament, deals with the Old Testament in relation to the aim of the epistle, reminiscences, and *memoriter* citations, Hagio-grapha, Biblical examples, mode of citation; and then passes on to discuss the Christian element in the Old Testament, its parænetic and prophetic aspects, the law, Christ and the Old Testament, its significance for the general line pursued by the epistle. Finally as to the author's nationality, he is practically at one with Lightfoot, who held him to be to all intents a Hellenist. The whole monograph, especially in its first part, will richly repay a careful perusal.

VERNON BARTLET.

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**The History of the Popes, from the close of the Middle Ages. Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and other Original Sources.**

*From the German of Dr Ludwig Pastor, Professor of History in the University of Innsbrück. Edited by F. A. Antrobus of the Oratory. London: John Hodges. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. lii. 419; xxvii. 580. Price 24s. net.*

THIS, the first instalment of a new history of the Popes in an English translation, appears with considerable claims to importance, and raises considerable expectations. In a brief of His Holiness Pope Leo XIII., which is twice printed on successive pages of the introductory matter, the present Pope acknowledges the receipt of this portion of the work, and testifies to the pontifical satisfaction with the labours of the author, and especially with his use of the Vatican Archives. A preface by the English editor draws attention to the "great success" which has attended the publication of the work in "the literary circles of Germany, Catholic and non-Catholic alike;" and, while referring to the advantage enjoyed by present writers of Papal history in comparison with their predecessors, through the liberality with which the present Pope has thrown open the "Secret Archives" of the Vatican to historical students, hints not obscurely that the distinguishing excellence of this work will be found in its combining the political and the ecclesiastical points of view. The second volume is introduced by a note from the lamented Archbishop of Westminster, in which the work is heralded as "the first-fruits of this action of the Holy Father, which, a little time ago, so surprised the writers of anti-Catholic history." Leo XIII. had addressed a letter to the five Cardinals, whom he had appointed a commission to revise the publication of historical matters contained in the Vatican Archives. "The Holy Father charged them to see that the history of the Holy See and of the Church should be written with absolute truth on the only just and imperishable principle that the *historica veritas* ought to be supreme, of which we have a divine example in holy writ, where the sins even of saints are as openly recorded as the wickedness of sinners." "No author," says the Cardinal, "as yet has written the history of the Popes with such copious evidence, drawn not only from the Vatican Archives, but from a multitude of other sources hitherto never examined," and he comes to the somewhat startling conclusion: "All histories of this period, from Ranke to Creighton, will need extensive correction, and in a large measure to be re-written." The same claims are put forward somewhat more modestly by the author himself in his preface: "When his Holiness.

Pope Leo XIII. generously opened the Secret Archives of the Vatican to students, it became evident that the history of the Popes during the last four centuries would have to be re-written. Ranke, Burckhardt, Voigt, Gregorovius, and Creighton all wrote on the Renaissance Age before these Archives became accessible."

All this is rather imposing and not a little alarming. The task of re-writing Dr Creighton's History of the Papacy would be a serious one, even for himself; and the student who has learned to rejoice in the profound analysis of Ranke, and to fall into step with the firm march of Creighton, trembles lest after all these guides be leading him on uncertain ground. The proposal to re-write the History of the Papacy on the ground of new documents newly accessible in the Vatican has much plausibility. It suggests a history at once truthful and sensational. The promise of "revelations" always serves to quicken curiosity; and the popular association of the Vatican with mystery and well-kept secrets of underground policy, is sufficiently well founded for the announcement of the new liberty of investigation to raise the hope of scholars, as well of as a larger and less critical public. Both classes, we fear, will lay down these volumes with disappointment. Of "revelation," in the journalistic sense, the ordinary reader will find none here. And the student, whom these prefatic warnings have caused to tremble for the value of his Ranke, his Höfler, or his Creighton, may breathe freely. So far as these two volumes go, it may be said at once, that Dr Pastor has neither added nor corrected a single fact of material importance.

But what about the "Secret Archives of the Vatican"? They exist. They have undoubtedly been thrown open to the researches of certain scholars, among whom Dr Pastor may be reckoned. But either they contain nothing material to the period, or they have not been fully applied to this work. If these be the "first-fruits," a basket will bring home the harvest.

It will be convenient, in view of the claims advanced by and on behalf of the work, to examine first what Dr Pastor adduces as new material, and then the manner in which he has handled the history. It is not difficult to identify and appraise the new documents, whose use is claimed as giving a special value and importance to these volumes. Every reference to such MSS. as the author believes to be unpublished is distinguished by an asterisk, and in the appendices at the end of each volume all the more important of these are printed in full. An analysis of the sources from which these "unpublished documents" are drawn, gives the following results:—Out of the twenty-seven which appear in the appendix to Vol. I., eight are found in the *Chigi* library at Rome (they are short letters all relating to the illness and death of Eugenius IV.), three are from

Aix (Provence), one from Vienna, and twelve from collections in various parts of Italy. The remaining *three* are from the "Secret Archives of the Vatican," two of them letters from Gregory XI., asking his correspondents to procure him copies of the classics, and the third of about equal importance. In the appendix to the second volume, the Vatican sources are somewhat better represented. Sixteen out of fifty-four "unpublished documents" are credited to the Secret Archives, while of the remainder twenty-one are drawn from Milan, one from Treves, and the rest from eight or nine different collections.

It would not be difficult to show from a further analysis that even the documents thus extracted from the Vatican contain exceedingly little of value to supplement or correct our previous information, and so justify the peculiar claims set forth in the title-page and preface. Our perplexity is further increased by finding a contradiction between these claims and not a few passages in the text. *E.g.* (i. 385), "The Roman collections of manuscripts, *which are rich in documents concerning the great Schism* of 1378, have been far less thoroughly investigated than those of Paris. The accomplishment of such an investigation does not fall within the scope of my present work." And yet a history of the great Schism forms a part, and a very important part, of the "present work." And it is difficult to understand how a scholar engaged on this period, and having these collections, as we are informed, at his disposal, could pass them by with "a few notices not unwelcome to future students." Dr Pastor tells us exactly "where by far the most important documents are to be found." He intends, "by-and-bye," to publish one of them "in its entirety;" the fragment which he quotes here certainly indicates its importance. Elsewhere (i. 387), the author tells us of another collection of archives still unexamined, and of a projected publication of collected documents (i. 391).

Surely Dr Pastor has reversed the true and desirable order of procedure, and before publishing a new History of the Popes with appendices to corroborate and complete the text, should have completed his investigation of the sources, and published his documents, on which he could afterwards have founded his history. Our complaint is not that our author has filled his text with new matter which does not find due corroboration in his appendices, but that neither in his text nor in his appendices is there new matter to justify the claims of the work. The new matter is still in the Vatican.

We have given the results of this preliminary examination with some fulness, because there has been a disposition in certain quarters somewhat hastily to acknowledge the claims thus put forward, and to treat this work as marking a new departure in the history of

the Papacy, and likely to give such a new rendering as to make at least partially obsolete the labours of previous scholars. It remains now to examine whether there is anything in the point of view or in the treatment of the material to justify the expectation set up. It may be said at once that Professor Pastor possesses many qualifications for writing a history of the Papacy from the Roman side which should command the respect of both its friends and its foes. He displays a very intimate and detailed acquaintance with many events of his period, with the documentary evidence and the works of previous writers, Papal and Protestant. The copious notes on almost every page contain the fruit of laborious and successful research in numberless collections of MSS. and State papers throughout Western Europe, and the results of this knowledge and research are put together clearly and impartially with a perfect willingness to chronicle, where necessary, weakness, worldliness, or even wickedness in ecclesiastical characters or Papal policy. Of course, Dr Pastor writes from the Papal point of view, and does not conceal his sympathies. He reserves his scorn and indignation for Anti-Popes and the enemies of the Church. He finds ground for satisfaction and even for enthusiasm in the character and policy of each of his heroes, and gives, for example, an altogether too favourable estimate of Martin V. and Eugenius IV. He allows the splendour and success of the Pontificate of Nicholas V. to disguise the essential worldliness and religious incapacity of that Pontiff, and palliates the shameless alliance of the Curia and the Church with the frankly Pagan side of the Renaissance. But he is not a reckless partisan, and succeeds to a remarkable degree in giving an honest picture of his period.

There is no period of the Papal history which deserves or repays more thorough investigation, or on which it would be more gratifying to receive new light. The two volumes now before us cover the space from 1305 to the death of Calixtus III., and the accession of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (1458). They include, therefore, episodes of such vital importance to the true understanding of the Papacy and the Reformation as the seventy years' "Captivity" at Avignon, the "Great Schism" closed by the reign of Martin V., the Pontificates of Eugenius IV. and Nicholas V., the Councils of Constance and Basel, the capture of Constantinople, and the rise of the Borgias. It will be observed that the present English work leaves off approximately where Ranke's "Lives of the Popes" begins, but moves parallel throughout its course with that great monument of English historical scholarship, Dr Creighton's History of the Papacy.

While displaying the qualifications we have described for dealing successfully with this important period, Dr Pastor gives us cause to regret the absence of others not less essential. His work is lacking

in that main quality of a classic history, a sense of proportion and due subordination. We wonder sometimes whether we are reading a history of the Papacy, of the Church, or of Europe, or again, a gossiping chronicle of a single Pontificate. External events are described at such inordinate length that space is not left for the disentangling of policy, or the tracing of the undercurrents of history. The entry of Martin into Rome, the coronation of Frederick III., the mission of Nicholas of Cusa, occupy, with details of ceremonials, vestments, stopping-places, and so forth, attention which is sorely needed in other directions. The treatment of the Councils, for instance, is very inadequate and almost wholly superficial. It is hardly surprising, perhaps, that a Roman theologian fails to present fairly the case of the Reforming Councils of Constance and Basel. And yet the former was the true agent in the termination of the Schism, and it is scarcely reasonable to treat it as an authoritative Council so long as it was laboriously preparing for the election of Martin, and then to support him in ignoring its recommendations for reform. But a like inadequacy in the treatment of the Council of Ferrara-Florence is without excuse in a Roman historian. The attempt, serious on the part of some of the leaders, to find a basis of re-union between the Greek and Latin branches of the Catholic Church, the long debates on the Procession of the Spirit, Purgatory, the Primacy of the Pope, the doctrinal concessions and conclusions, the pathetic situation of the Greeks, require much more than the brief allusion vouchsafed in the text. The same want of proportion, due to want of penetration to the real issues at stake, appears throughout the work. The siege and capture of Constantinople is described with unnecessary prolixity; the struggle in Bohemia is hardly glanced at. In fact, Dr Pastor displays no interest in theology or in religion apart from its external trappings. The obscure beginning of great movements, popular conceptions of religion, the growing ferment of thought in Europe, pass unnoticed in his pages. He refers to heretics and heretical movements only to chronicle their destruction; so that at the end of his volumes we find ourselves on the threshold of the Reformation as unprepared for that catastrophe as Nicholas or Calixtus.

There are, however, two matters of minor importance on which the researches of Dr Pastor do throw some light. A judicial murder more or less would hardly affect the reputation of any of the Popes who figure in these pages. But in the capture and death of Cardinal Vitelleschi there is something so treacherous and so cruel, that all parties would rejoice to see the blame of connivance removed from the character of Eugenius IV. In the appendix to Vol. I., Dr Pastor publishes a document which, if its evidence could be trusted, would go far to clear the Pope. Antonio da

Rido, the castellan of St Angelo, who had waylaid and imprisoned Vitelleschi, writes on the day of his capture to the Florentines, taking on himself the whole responsibility of his action: "Le magnificentie vostre havere intexe chiaramente, chomo vedo et intendo io, bene che senza lizentia de N. S. lo habia fato per non haver habuto tempo de notificarlo. . . ." This is followed by an "unpublished" letter from Eugenius, dated from Florence the day after the death of Vitelleschi at St Angelo, which, assuming its sincerity, would tend still further to exculpate the Pope. Another document of considerable interest is the "Deposition" of Stephen Porcaro, from a MS. in the Town Library at Treves, which throws considerable light on the conspiracy planned by Porcaro against Nicholas V. A letter also from Cardinal Calantrini hints at something wider and deeper than personal hatred or personal ambition as the motive of the conspiracy: "Non hic de pecuniis acquirendis non de libertate urbis agebatur: religio Christi et Christianorum nomen penitus ex Italia delebatur." It is obvious, however, that these and other documents require thorough sifting and testing before they can be freely used.

These are minor matters; but in their comparative insignificance they are no unfair criterion of Dr Pastor's contribution to history. Either the Secret Archives of the Vatican contain nothing likely to modify seriously the results established for this period, or it is too soon by many years to begin to "re-write" history on the strength of their discovery. Enough has been said to show that neither on the ground of wealth of new material, nor on the ground of thorough and philosophic treatment of the old, does this work deserve the attention which has been claimed for it.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

### Das Problem der Ethik in der Gegenwart.

*By Hans Gallwitz. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 272. Price M. 5.*

THIS book begins with maintaining the necessity of a permanent conflict between Christian Faith and Philosophy; for it is only through the opposition of faith and philosophy that the former can be kept from hardening into dogma, and the latter from degenerating either into a self-satisfied Optimism or into a despairing Pessimism, either of which would extinguish the impulse to know.

The Christian faith which is thus opposed to philosophy, is "the conviction that God has revealed Himself in a perfect and unique manner in the person of Jesus Christ;" and philosophy is an attempt,

always and necessarily unsuccessful, to erect an all-inclusive system of related truths. Christianity is based upon an event in the history of a person, or upon a historical person, and is inalienably attached to Him. But philosophy is incapable of dealing with particular events. It is occupied only with universal laws, it cannot penetrate into the particular, and therefore cannot give to any events the certainty of the necessary truths of reason.

On this view it is clear that faith and philosophy cannot be reconciled. But it is not made clear how they can come into conflict—unless the one or the other of them succeeds in breaking through its own proper limits and occupying the field of the other. Philosophy cannot do this. The object of Christian faith is supposed to stand outside of every possible system of thought. It cannot be placed within the stream of the historical progress of mankind. Christianity, if there is no other alternative, must, therefore, be regarded as based upon the unintelligible; for man explains and proves only by relating fact to fact. But there *is* another alternative. The object of faith, the divine personality of Christ, may itself comprehend all truth and all reality. Nature and man may find the principle of their being, and their ultimate explanation in Him. We may not only say that all are Christ's, but that Christ is all. To prove this on the side of ethics is the author's task; to show "*how* the Universal can be present in the particular, the Absolute in the historically concrete, the Divine in the human." (Pref. v.) The problem which the author has set himself falls into two parts, the first critical, the second constructive. He first endeavours to trace morality and its inner and outer conditions backwards, so as to connect them immediately with the personality of man and of Christ. Then, having shown that personality, and ultimately the personality of Christ, is the only source of the moral life he has to derive it and all its conditions from that source. But all the success that the author achieves is confined to the first, or critical endeavour.

The greater part of the book is occupied with breaking down the ordinary distinctions set up by philosophical and ethical writers. It is found that they are artificial, and inconsistent with the intense and exclusive unity of personality. The maxim on which the author proceeds is, that "in judging the quality of an action, the individuality of the subject must be steadily kept in view" (p. 3). There are no actions which are in themselves good or bad; they must be judged from their context; we must know who and what manner of man committed them. "Good" and "bad" are not predicative but appellative terms; they are not names of general qualities, but adjectival marks attached to individuals, which derive a new meaning from every new application to a new agent.

Nor is it possible to apply a common standard to different *per-*



sons. The individuality of different moral subjects is in every instance unique. To understand an individual we must comprehend that in which he differs from others. Every moral subject must be regarded as through and through an individual and particular subject, destined to evolve his *own* moral character in an environment to which he alone gives all the significance it has ; and not as bound to act according to the pattern of a universal law (p. 63). A common standard or general law has only proximate validity even when it is applied to things ; for, as a matter of fact, every real thing is unique—"there is given to us in perception only individual single things, each of which stands under its own particular law" (p. 12). And as we ascend from things to animals, from animals to men, and from savages to developed men, the singleness and exclusiveness of the individual deepens, and a general law becomes more and more untrue. Development, and especially the development of human character, moves away from the common type ; while the idea of a common genus becomes more and more inapplicable, reveals itself more and more as an hypostasised abstraction invented by the philosophical imagination, and corresponding to nothing that actually exists.

This view of the nature of the universal and the individual, and of the law of development determines the author's whole method of procedure. He sets the unity of personality against the abstract universal and the abstract particular, and shows that he is guided in this matter by a true instinct. Unfortunately, it is mere instinct that guides him ; and he indicates no path by which the universal may be conceived as differentiating itself into particulars while maintaining its unity with itself, nor any way in which the particular, or, more strictly, the individual, may be conceived as involving the universal.

The most valuable portions of his book are those in which, by the help of his conception of the unity of personality, he attacks the partial and one-sided views held by various authors, and particularly by Kant. From this point of view he sees that no special faculty, to the exclusion of the others, can be regarded as the organ of the moral life. It is the person as a whole that expresses itself in every action ; and, on the other hand, every action bears the impress of the whole personality. Hence the distinction of actions by Kähler into technical and moral is artificial ; the former are included in, and in a sense transcended by the latter.

Equally artificial, but far more mischievous are the abstract distinctions set up by Kant and others between the cognitive faculties, volition, and feeling ; between the universal law of duty and all its particular content ; between goodness and happiness ; and between spirit and nature. Even the distinction between the

higher and lower elements of human nature, and between the flesh and the spirit, is untenable. Man is a "sensuous-spiritual," or "spiritual-sensuous" being; in him flesh and spirit are inextricably intertwined. And all man's actions bear the same character. They cannot even be regarded as composite. "An ethical theory which sets itself the task of determining what paths human activity must follow will not admit the superiority of the so-called higher spiritual functions over the sensuous" (51). In consequence, both of the usually accepted forms of moral philosophy—viz., that which proceeds from the assumption of universal and innate laws of conduct, and that which proceeds from the consideration of the worth of ends, must be considered as invalid. Each of them starts from a false hypothesis—the one from that of an innate moral endowment in man, the other from an innate moral quality in outward phenomena. Such universal qualities can be applied to neither; nor can either be regarded as the source of universal moral imperatives. Indeed, there are no universal moral imperatives. "Every absolute command to do or to refrain contains a one-sidedness which may lead to absurd and immoral consequences" (p. 80). It makes no difference whence the moral imperatives are derived, whether from a supposed moral law within, or from the so-called universal laws of Nature. Nothing has supreme value and authority in morals except personalities. "Personalities are the only universal ideas whose existence in the world can be proved to us to exist" (p. 225). And all personalities are, according to Gallwitz, unique. Each interacts with his environment in its own specific way, and from that mysterious interaction character is generated and developed (p. 74). What parts the subjective and objective factors respectively take in the creation of character we cannot determine. But, inasmuch as a holy God, for the Christian, guides nature, we may say that all events are good; for they are opportunities for the evolution of morality. God gives special inspiration through special events in every special difficulty; so that significant moral resolutions are never taken freely by the leaders of mankind, but under the compulsion of divinely-guided events. And this divine interference is universal, were we only able to detect it. The moral history of men, if we loyally accept the teaching of facts, will reveal itself as a chain of miracles.

Now, this reference of the phenomena of the moral life of man to divine interposition may be regarded as equivalent to the confession that a moral *science* is impossible. But, even in that case, it is better than the theoretical attempts hitherto made to explain man by a kind of spiritual chemistry, with its analysis and synthesis, which breaks character up and fails to put it together again. It at least recognises facts, and acknowledges the conditions under which

alone moral life can be conceived to exist. It shows us "that our first duty is to recognise the moral equipment of each individual man, and recognise it only in relation to the world of natural events from which it ultimately derives its origin, direction and goal" (p. 124). Herr Gallwitz sees that this view of the origin, direction, and goal of character, implies that Nature must itself be regarded as a moral power. But this consequence gives him no pause; he even declares that Nature must be represented by us as "personal Spirit" (p. 125). The further consequence, that divine inspiration within man, and divine interposition without him by means of natural events, seems to threaten personal freedom and to swamp morality, does not appear to have occurred to the author.

There is, perhaps, no need to follow our author any further along this path. Amidst inconsistencies which are perhaps only just less numerous than his repetitions, I think it may be justly said that in recoiling against the absolute distinctions of moralists, he has succeeded in abolishing all distinctions whatsoever, and that in opposing abstract universal laws he has, however unwillingly, endeavoured to establish a kind of Spiritual Atomism. There is to him nothing but spirits, and no spirit is like its neighbour, except in so far as it is untrue to itself.

How men communicate with each other, how human society is possible, we are not told definitely by Herr Gallwitz. If we might venture to make any deduction from his premisses, we should say that social life is an accident in the history of man, which he will gradually throw off as he develops; for development, as we have seen, makes away from every common law. The principle whereby the organic unity of society is usually explained, namely, that of dying to self in order to live for man, that of sacrificing what is personal in the sense of that which is exclusive, in order thereby to attain ends which are universal, cannot be admitted by one who makes the essence of a person consist in that which is peculiar to him. He admits, indeed, that Christ came to save sinners; and he also admits that the identification of ourselves with Christ is the supreme principle of the moral life of mankind. From Him the life came, and only by communion with Him can it be sustained. But, notwithstanding this, the supreme duty of man is to "save his own soul," and to that end all else must be subordinated. "Jesus indeed has said of Himself that He came not to be served but to serve; He also emphasised universally the command to love our neighbours; *'aber die wichtigste Gebot, von welcher er gesprochen hat, ist doch die Sorge um die eigene Seele.'* For the sake of eternal salvation it may be our duty to 'hate' father and mother, brother and sister, nay, our own people, and to separate ourselves from them" (p. 89.) Our author does not say that *normally* the welfare of the individual

and that of the community are incapable of being reconciled. But he leaves us no room to doubt that in a system of moral ends the latter must always be subordinated to the former. So supreme is worth of the individual, and—what is much more important—the worth of that which is special and particular in each individual.

The author's treatment of the problem of evil is perhaps the most unsatisfactory thing in the book. He seems to regard it as incomprehensible, if not absolute. It is, he is certain, not explicable as means, by antagonism to which the good may be realised, even although Christ was victorious over it. Nor is it in any way bound with the good. Human development might have been secured without it. But he does not say how—perhaps because the revelation would now be too late to be of any practical use. Nor does he give us any hint as to the way in which it could arise in a world which is conceived as "personal spirit," or in a kingdom of God which is all-inclusive. It is possible that in the moral movement, every step of which is taken only by direct divine inspiration, some men have not been inspired. But this would seem to imply that, while all Nature is good some men are radically evil, and therefore, also, I presume, that God did not make them.

It is rather difficult to give a just estimate of the book as a whole. But, although the author seems to me to have entirely failed in his reconstructive effort, the book can be read with much profit. It illustrates, even if it does not prove, that personalities are unique, or, at least, books. It is as rich in suggestions as it is poor in solutions. It shows that the author has a wide and intelligent acquaintance with German philosophical and ethical literature; and although his authorities have not been able to make him drink, they have led him to the water.

But the chief value of this work lies in its naïve betrayal of the secrets of a school of thinkers which has achieved some popularity in Germany, and which has disciples in this country. In the former country there is now active a double revolt against what has been called the *Panlogismus* of its great Idealists. That revolt derives its impetus in both cases alike from the suspicion that thought neither is, nor adequately expresses, the ultimate reality. Thought must, therefore, occupy in philosophy a more subordinate position. It must be regarded as evolved by a blind will, or as picked up by the ultimate unconscious reality in the course of its development, as the pessimists tell us; or else it must be viewed merely as the imperfect representation of reality which is elaborated for its own behoof by human thought. "The shadow of antiquity, its mischievous over-estimation of reason, still lies upon us," says Lotze, "and prevents our seeing, either in the real or in the ideal, what it is that makes both *something more than reason*." But Lotze, whom our author always quotes with approval,

is himself able, either with or without reason, to see that something more! "Nothing seems less justifiable than the assertion that this Thinking is identical with Being, and that Being can be resolved into it without a residuum; on the contrary, everywhere in the flux of thought there remain quite insoluble those individual nuclei which represent the several aspects of that important content which we designate by the name of Being" (Mikrokosmos, Vol. II. p. 354). It is these individual nuclei—of which the last word that we can say is that they exclude each other—that alone constitute reality. Everything hides its own real being within itself, and *Selves*, or persons, most of all. "Each self is an unique existence," we are told by an English writer of this school. "The very characteristic of a self is this exclusiveness."

It is against the invasion of the privacy of the real by universal laws that these writers raise their cry. We do actual things injustice when we endeavour to explain them by general laws; and this injustice reaches its highest point when we try to apply universal laws to man's history. "The universal Idea of humanity is the great and awful and tragic altar on which all individual life and joy are sacrificed." So repulsive is the idea of universal unchanging law to these writers, that they endure with some impatience the ascription of constancy even to the divine activity. "To make all subsequent resolves only the necessary results of one primal resolve, and all subsequent activity only the inevitable result of an original creative volition, involves a denial of freedom of action which seems to us incompatible with the idea of a living personal God" (Mikrokosmos, Vol. II. p. 133). "We prefer the thought of an uncertain and disconnected divine activity" (Mikrokosmos, Vol. II. p. 134). God, apparently, must change His purposes if He is to be a person, or if man is to be free. So deep are the vicious effects of universals, that there must be no intelligible continuity either in nature or in the events of history.

It would be easy to trace more of the "philosophy" of Gallwitz to Lotze; and to do so would assist us to comprehend both master and disciple, although it would be obviously unjust to charge the crudities of the latter upon the former. There is in both the same faith in the particular, the same fear of the universal, the same distrust of human thought, and the same appeal to final mystery and to "faith." We are assured that Lotze is the new star in the horizon of philosophy in whose light rather than in that of the earlier idealists, we are to rejoice at least for a time. Even those who are not able to esteem his efforts so highly are prepared to admit that in his insistence upon the individual, there lies a demand which Idealism has no right to ignore. And it is mainly in its relation to this "new force" in philosophy that the work of

Herr Gallwitz attains its significance and value ; a force which has not lacked its recognition in Germany, least of all by those who ultimately base their religious and ethical faith, not upon its inward rational coherence, but upon a historical event.

HENRY JONES.

### Spinoza's Erkenntnisslehre in ihrer Beziehung zur modernen Naturwissenschaft und Philosophie.

*Allgemein verständlich dargestellt von Dr Martin Berendt und Dr med. Julius Friedländer. Berlin: Mayer & Müller. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 8vo, pp. xix. 315. Price M. 5.*

ONE of the most interesting things in the history of Philosophy is the way in which Spinoza continues to attract, and even to fascinate, the speculative mind. Within recent years many volumes expressly devoted to his system have been published in Holland, in Germany, and in France, as well as in England. The subject, however, is by no means exhausted. The book before us is apparently the first of a series of three, which are to treat successively of Spinoza's doctrine of Knowledge, his Metaphysical system, and his Ethics. It is written with the view of showing the harmony between the Theory of Knowledge held by the chief philosopher of Holland, and the teachings of modern Science—especially as these are embodied in the works of Helmholtz.

In the second part of the *Ethica*, "De Mente," Spinoza distinguishes between *Imaginatio*, *Ratio*, and *Scientia intuitiva*. The first of these he describes as proceeding either "from individual things, represented to us by the senses in a mutilated and confused manner, and without order to the intellect,"—*experientia vaga*—or "from signs, as for example, when we hear or read certain words, and form ideas similar to them, and so imagine things." It is for the latter reason that he applies to this first kind of Knowledge the term *Imaginatio*, but it must not be confounded with what passes current in modern psychology as "Imagination." It rather resembles the chance-gathered knowledge, which Plato called *δόξα*, as distinguished from *ἐπιστήμη*; while the latter corresponds with Spinoza's second kind of knowledge—i.e., his *Ratio*. Thus the "*experientia vaga*" of our ordinary consciousness,—which we pick up from the impressions of the senses, or from reading words or listening to them,—gives us only a mass of chaotic ideas, which is not true knowledge, but rather a source of illusion or falsity. On the other hand, the knowledge we obtain through *Ratio*, and through *Scientia intuitiva* is "necessarily true." The *Ratio* gives us "an adequate idea of the formal attributes" of real existence ;

the *Scientia intuitiva* conducts us to the essence of things itself. We have thus three stages of knowledge; and it is the aim of Messrs Berendt and Friedländer to prove that this arrangement or classification is justified by the progress of research, both philosophical and scientific. Ordinary unsifted experience being set aside, the *Ratio* of Spinoza may be taken as equivalent to a scientific knowledge of the laws of Nature; while the *Scientia intuitiva* may be held to be the same as the second-sight, or intuition which transcends the processes of science.

The authors are much more successful in what they say about the *Ratio* of Spinoza, than about his *Scientia intuitiva*. In reference, however, to the *Imaginatio*, or the inadequate and illusory knowledge of the senses, they quote from the *Ethica*, Part II. 16,—“*Idea cujuscunque modi, quo corpus humanum e corporibus externis afficitur involvere debet naturam corporis externi.*” They argue that this, and their succeeding propositions, are justified in the light of modern research. For instance, the burning sensation in the hand caused by the sting of a nettle is as much a consequence of the sensitive nervous system of the hand, as it is of the nature of the nettle; the perception of lightning by the eye is a consequence of the excitation of the retina, as well as of the electric spark; and so on with each sense. From this they proceed to expound Spinoza's corollary that the ideas we have of external bodies express more nearly the constitution of our own body than the nature of those external things; quoting a parallel passage from Helmholtz to the effect that the nature and manner of sense-perception depends less on the characteristics of the object perceived than on those of the organs of sense through which the perception reaches us.\* This is proved in subjective sense-perception—*e.g.*, the perception of light through pressure of blood to the eyes, through the action of narcotics, of alcohol, or in the abnormal condition of the blood during fever, when objectively there is not the smallest amount of light existing. Even though the eye itself be lost through an injury or a surgical operation, an irritation of the nerve might produce a fantastic sensation of light (p. 5).

After many examples of the application of this law, as laid down both by Spinoza and Helmholtz, to the physical world, the authors state their opinion of its equal value in the spiritual realm. In the appendix to the *Ethica*, Spinoza says that every one “judges things by the constitution of his brain; or, rather, accepts the affections of his imagination in the place of things.” All preconceived opinions,

\* Die Art und Weise der sinnlichen Wahrnehmung weniger von den Eigenthümlichkeiten des wahrgenommenen Gegenstandes, als von denen des Sinnesorganes abhängt, durch welches wir die Nachricht bekommen.”—*Vorträge und Reden*, Bd. I. s. 19.

and all superstition, may be explained as the subjective aspect of things, but our ideas thus formed are inadequate to disclose the reality of Nature. An illustration from the natural world, used also by Schopenhauer—who was probably influenced by Spinoza—is given. It is this—The sun is at a certain apparent distance from us; when, by astronomical calculation, we discover its real distance from the earth, the apparent distance, nevertheless, remains the same. Similarly, the red of the rose-leaf remains an objective attribute of the leaf, the heat of molten iron remains a true property of the iron; although we afterwards learn that the one is caused by vibrations of light, and the other by the invisible movement of the smallest molecules. The explanation of the *objective* nature of our sense-perceptions Spinoza could not give. This is a discovery of our own century, and of its later decades. We may here compare Helmholtz, when he asserts that sense-perceptions are to us only symbols of the outer world, and correspond to it as the written or spoken word whereby things are denoted. They give us, it is true, some intelligence of the outer world; but it is not much better than the idea of colour, which we convey to a blind man by a mere description of it. What then is truth to us? In what sense do our ideas guarantee to us reality or certainty? To this the speculative philosopher and the physicist reply in the same words.

In what is common to our bodies and the external world, and what arises out of their inter-communication, Spinoza finds the basis of adequate knowledge. "Those things only can be adequately conceived by us which are common to everything, and which are equally in the whole and in its parts."<sup>1</sup> Again, "All bodies agree in this that they involve the conception of one and the same attribute. They have, moreover, this in common, that they are capable of motion and of rest."<sup>2</sup> S. E. Loewenhardt<sup>3</sup> comments on Spinoza's recognition of this important physical fact. Even if—as is possible—the idea was borrowed from Descartes, it must be admitted that Spinoza accepted it, not only in its entirety, but also in its consequences, with uncompromising candour. In his work on Spinoza, Sir Frederick Pollock says, "If it had been in the nature of things that the conservation of energy, or anything equivalent to it, should be either discovered or proved *a priori*, Descartes would in all probability have done it. Spinoza, full of the Hebrew conviction of the perfect unity of the divine Nature, and of its manifestations in the sensible world, and determined to carry that principle to its utmost consequences, found in Descartes a seeming

<sup>1</sup> "Ethica" II., props. 38, 39.

<sup>2</sup> "Ethica" II., prop. xix., lemma 2.

<sup>3</sup> In his "Spinoza in seinem Verhältniss zur Philosophie und Naturforschung der neueren Zeit." (Berlin, 1872.)



demonstration, on grounds of scientific evidence, of that unity and uniformity in the physical world which speculation had already led him to expect."<sup>1</sup> Whether Spinoza's "dark saying" was, or was not, a kind of "prophetic vision" of the modern conception of the Conservation of energy, is discussed by Pollock, and the conclusion at which he arrives is the opposite of that to which Messrs Berendt and Friedländer have come. Mathematics being the basis of true knowledge, on it, according to our authors, the method of experimental research is built; but this research extends only to the properties, not to the essence of things. It is the *Ratio* of Spinoza, which is applicable to the whole realm of physical science, and to the universe of things.

In the Scholium to the twenty-ninth proposition of the second book of the *Ethica*, Spinoza expressly affirms that the "mind has no adequate knowledge of itself, nor of external bodies," but only a confused knowledge of them, while "it is determined to the contemplation of this or that *externally*;" but when it is "determined *internally*, it contemplates several things at once, with a view to find out in what they differ, agree, or oppose one another; for whenever it is internally disposed, in this or in any other way, it contemplates things clearly and distinctly." But the interest which Spinoza felt in experimental research is perhaps most fully shown in his *De intellectus emendatione*, cap. 14. The ideas which are common to all men, "*notiones omnibus hominibus communes*," are the axioms of mathematics and the fundamental postulates of science. Here he certainly anticipates modern science, more especially the results arrived at by Helmholtz. Messrs Berendt and Friedländer think, however, that Spinoza was opposed to the idea of these postulates of physical science having an *a priori* character. Referring to the corollary to the twenty-second proposition of the second book of the *Ethica* (already mentioned), they say that this passage, taken along with many others, shows that Spinoza regarded both the axioms of mathematics and the elementary propositions of science as drawn from experience; and that here he has anticipated modern thought. They refer to Helmholtz in particular, who, in his treatise on the "Origin and Signification of Geometrical Axioms," has shown, in opposition to Kant, that they cannot be even imagined apart from the conceptions we derive from experience—such as solidity—and that, besides, if we add to the geometrical axioms, and propositions on the mechanical properties of bodies, those of inertia, of action and reaction, &c., a system is built up of which there can be no other foundation than experience.

But what is to bridge the chasm between the rational (the second) kind of knowledge and the intuitive (or third) kind? "The effort

<sup>1</sup> "Spinoza: his Life and Philosophy," p. 113.

or the desire to know things by the third kind of knowledge cannot arise from the first kind—the inadequate—but it may arise from the second kind.”<sup>1</sup> The object of intuitive knowledge being the essence of things, and not only the mechanical movements of the material world, the thought of Spinoza may, on this point, be linked with that of Faraday and Clerk Maxwell, who—as Helmholtz points out—used the method of intuitive perception, in addition to mathematical analysis and methodical proof.

The link which connects the idealistic and the mechanical view of nature is to be found in the will, which takes its origin in the desire to exist, *cupiditas*, or the self-developing impulse. Here Spinoza is supposed to anticipate the Darwinian principle of the “struggle for existence,” but without its limitations, as Hartmann has pointed out.<sup>2</sup>

In succeeding chapters, Spinoza’s doctrine of Attribute and Mode is scrutinised in the light of modern metaphysic. Reverting to the first book of the *Ethica*, proposition fifteen, that “whatever is, is in God, and that nothing can either be, or be conceived without God,” and proposition twenty-five, that “God is not only the efficient cause of the existence of things, but also of their essence,” the authors expound the theory that this ever-flowing essence proceeding from God may manifest itself at one time in one form, and again in another; and that thus a kind of metempsychosis or re-incarnation may take place (p. 157).

Mommsen<sup>3</sup> drew a parallel between Caesar and Cromwell. “In actualis corporis existentia,” these men were different, yet in their “essentia” their character, the tendency of their minds and wills, in their statescraft and its fruits, they were similar. A parallel case of essential similarity the authors find in Dante and Michael Angelo, men both sad and gloomy in character, and in their artistic work preferring the gloomy and the sublime; also in Luther and Lessing, in Plato and Beethoven, in Hannibal and Napoleon I., in Caius Gracchus and Ferdinand Lassalle. A somewhat fanciful disquisition follows.

Berendt and Friedländer conclude that the everlasting essence of things is unalterable, while the phenomena constantly change. At p. 154 they say that, as *Ratio* embodies itself in science, intuition embodies itself in art, and the artistic contemplation of things. Intuitive knowledge was the foundation of Shakespeare’s power in presenting what was innermost and most essential in all his characters; and thus we now view them “sub specie aeternitatis.” This “scientia intuitiva” of Spinoza, they find in all our modern

<sup>1</sup> “*Ethica*” V., prop. 28.

<sup>2</sup> In his “*Wahrheit und Irrthum in Darwinismus*.”

<sup>3</sup> “*Römische Geschichte*,” ii. 45.

art,—in music, painting, and especially in the drama,—as well as in politics, philosophy, and natural science. A curious but interesting chapter on examples of the three kinds of knowledge in practical life will be found at p. 187.

It is unnecessary to follow our authors farther, or to point out where their enthusiasm becomes uncritical, and ends in a somewhat slavish deference. It is enough to have indicated the line they take. Its difference from that followed out by our British critics of Spinoza, Mr Froude, Sir F. Pollock, Dr Martineau, and Principal Caird,—and from the estimates of Ernest Renan, Eduard Zeller, Van Vloten, and Land, will be apparent to all who have followed recent discussions of the subject. It is limited to the *Erkenntnisslehre*, what is known in Britain under the barbarous term “epistemology,” but, as it is to be followed by two volumes devoted to a discussion of Spinoza’s metaphysical and ethical system, a few remarks on his philosophy in general may be of use to the readers of this *Review*.

In order to a clear apprehension of Spinoza’s doctrine, it must be remembered that Descartes had taught that there were two realms of substance, a spiritual and a material, and that his philosophy was dualistic; although he also held that the one supreme substance included within it two subsidiary ones. The thinking substance and the extended were united by the one supreme Substance, God. Malebranche followed him, and tried to remove the dualism, which remained in the doctrine of Descartes, by proclaiming a higher Unity, in which the antithesis between these two was overcome or transcended. So far at least as the spiritual realm was concerned, “*Dieu est le lieu des esprits*”—we see all things in God. The two Cartesian substances were thus merged in one. Spinoza developed this much farther: the two realms were substantially one, because God included both within Himself. Were there any single thing apart from God, it would be independent of Him. Therefore, God is the sole substance. *Quiquid est in Deo est.*

The following may be given as the briefest summary of Spinoza’s system. There is but one Substance in the universe, underlying all the phenomena of mind and matter, infinite, self-existent, eternal, necessary. The Being whose essence is mere existence is necessarily one; there is no other being. But this one Substance has an infinity of attributes, two of which only are known to us—viz., thought and extension; which again manifest themselves to our apprehension under an infinity of separate phases or modes; and these three—Substance, Attribute, and Mode—exhaust the possibilities of existence. This one Substance is the sole cause of all that happens. It is God, and there is no other substance underneath phenomena except God. From him, or it—for there is no distinction—all things issue by fixed necessity. God is the cause

of all existence, the life of all that lives, but He is not personal. Nature is different from him, simply as product is different from process, but they are not really separable. Thus Nature, Substance, and God,—although we happen to differentiate them by the phrases we make use of,—are all at root the same. God, as the infinite substance, with infinite attributes, is in Spinoza's terminology the *natura naturans*; the universe, with all its infinite modes of manifestation is the *natura naturata*. But all the phenomena of the universe are the necessary modes in which the attributes of the one Substance are manifested. It is one and infinite, *they* are manifold and finite. It is self-existent; they are produced or evolved. God can be realised as manifesting himself now in this, and again in that phenomenal made of activity; but He remains for ever one and unchanged, the *causa mundi immanens non transiens*. Creation, in the sense of a start of energy out of previous repose, is impossible, because the one substance exhausts reality, and of it all that exists is a manifestation. The one substance being also the sole cause, all that exists reveals the substance, all that comes to pass manifests the cause; and thus the entire structure of the universe disclosed in space, its complete story revealed in time, are the necessary unfolding of the one supreme Substance and the one sole Cause. Nothing in the universe is free, except in the sense that it acts according to the laws of its own nature. No ends are discoverable in Nature. Intention is a notion gathered from human actions or designs, which we illuively throw out into Nature; but it has no real existence there. All things being necessitated, no antagonism to the will of God is possible. Resistance to him is a mere figure of speech, derived from our human struggles. Actions differ to us in their quality, as respectively good or bad, when we regard them in their results; but in their essence all are necessitated, and, therefore, all on one level. Thus, according to this system, all the acts of the generation that now is are a mere evolution out of the acts of past generations, and all the acts of the unborn to the end of time are now as fixed as is the rise of the sun to-morrow morning.

The initial flaw in this system is the application of the deductive method to Philosophy, the method which tries to carry us over by the help of mathematical axioms from the sphere of abstract thought to the realm of real existence. It is unnecessary to enlarge on this, as there are other more serious faults within it.

It is a theory of universal existence; but it cannot explain the simplest act of self-consciousness, or our ordinary perception of external things. Thus, when we perceive any truth of reason—when we are conscious of our own existence, or of an external object before us—according to this theory it is the Infinite Being that is perceiving it in us and through us. Our act of knowledge or per-

ception is merely a mode through which the Infinite Being realises itself. But how can the one Infinite Being thus break itself up into detail, into an infinite series of acts of consciousness? How, at all events, can this self-sundering of the Infinite *be known*? The theory attempts to reconcile Infinity and Unity with the individuality and manifoldness of the finite; but it is neither contained within any known facts of consciousness, nor is it a valid deduction from any of them. These acts of our finite consciousness are known. *They* at least exist within us, and they attest existence beyond us. They also, to a certain extent, interpret existence both within and beyond the knower; but what speculative right have we to affirm that they are the phases through which the one infinite substance manifests itself, or becomes conscious of itself? In other words, what right have we to override the psychological truth which these facts assert, by an ontological theory of being, founded upon an abstract mathematical premise? No deduction from that premise can explain how the abstract essence, substance, or cause, which works blindly and unconsciously in Nature, blossoms into consciousness in man. If we merge all individual causes in one supreme causality, the acts of each individual are merely phases of that causality; but, if all the phenomenal aspects of the universe are the evolution of a single primordial essence—aspects of that which always is, but is always changing its disclosures—the distinction between them is a matter of complete indifference. The differences which emerge remerge again, in the unity that is self-existent, self-identical, and self-caused.

It comes to this, that the difference between the Infinite Substance and Cause of all, and each individual thing which manifests them, is but the difference between the whole and its parts. The one substance which evolves itself everlastingly under the attributes of extension and thought, or matter and mind, is to the human eye broken up into sectional detail; but there is no real break in the continuity of the process at work. We isolate a portion of the series from the rest—certain atoms grouped together, a few thoughts and feelings aggregated somehow—and we have what we choose to call *individua*, or separate things. But on this theory there is no real individuality in any one of them, because all are in a “process of becoming.” Thus there is the closest speculative affinity between the theory of Heraclitus and a system of evolution that dispenses with an Evolver, and the Spinozist doctrine of substance, attribute, and mode.

The primary assumption of the unity of all being—such a unity as abolishes difference, instead of making room for it—has no speculative warrant. Why should Substance, Nature, and God be one, and Substance be *causa sui* (its own cause)? There is no a

*priori* reason, and no *a posteriori* evidence. And, as Dr Martineau has well put it—"The conception of Nature is scientific, expressive of a certain unity amongst phenomena; that of God is religious, revealing a living unity of cause; that of Substance is metaphysical, indicating a unity of ground; and Spinoza's preference for the last evinces the ultimate ascendency in his mind of the idea of reality over that of totality, and of power. Thus overshadowed, the two subordinated terms dropped a part of their received meaning."<sup>1</sup>

Now, if God, Nature, and Substance be thus identified, God and reality are one. The actual is the necessary, the contingent does not exist, freedom is an illusion of the fancy. But to take these terms, which had borne a fundamental difference of meaning heretofore, both in popular usage and in scientific discussion, to blend them into one, and use them interchangeably, is manifestly not to solve a problem of philosophy, but to evade it. If, when I say that "God exists," I am also at the same time saying that "entity is,"—and if that is really all that I am saying,—surely the very terms of which I make use are emptied of all philosophical meaning.

Then a critic of Spinoza's system may further object that he gives us no clear exposition of the relation in which substance stands to attribute. His definition of Substance does not carry with it a definition of its attributes, which it ought to have done in a purely deductive system. The attributes of the one substance are set down as infinite, but how is this infinity known? Two only, he goes on to say, are known to us—viz., those of extension and thought, which again assume an infinity of modes. But if only two attributes be known, how can we affirm that an infinity exist? Then the two that are known have no organic connection with each other. They are simply predicated of Substance, that is all. How, we may validly ask, does this infinite plurality of attributes inhere in the one Substance or essence? How can we speak of the Essence as one and homogeneous, while its attributes through which we know it are many and heterogeneous? Spinoza began with dualism, with the doctrines of Descartes, two *summa genera* differentiated fundamentally; and he subsequently took up these two Cartesian substances into a single principle. But he merely succeeded in bracketing them together under a common name. Their fundamental difference—nay, the radical difference of their respective attributes—prevents their being ever legitimately spoken of as the divers phases of a single substance.

There is, however, a unity within which all Substance may be included, and that is the realm of thought. We can think them together. The material cannot include the mental within itself, but the mental can (so far) include the material within it: and while

<sup>1</sup> "A Study of Spinoza," p. 171.

preserving a dualism like that of Descartes, we may be warranted in analogically interpreting the fountainhead of Being, whence all derivative existence has flowed, as an intellectual source.

In the moral teaching of Spinoza, there is much to attract and even to fascinate; although its root-principle is erroneous, because it applies the doctrine of necessity to the sphere of the will. It has been the aim of more than one philosopher to recover his speculative loss within the moral sphere. But this can only be done, in Spinoza's case, by first making a concession which is fatal to his theory. The end he sought was a practical one. As with the Stoics his philosophy culminated in the quest for the chief good. It was a search for "the way to the blessed life." Spinoza saw that men were always missing the mark in their search for happiness, because they placed their regard on the perishable and the transient. He sought the imperishable and the changeless. Therefore he directs us to the Infinite and the Eternal. By the ladder of the intellect, by pure contemplation, he invites us to ascend into a region in which the passions will be lulled to rest, beyond the illusions of the terrestrial, and the changefulness of experience. So far he takes a path common to him, and to all the great idealistic thinkers of the world. But he does not help us to rise to that "unity where no division is," by interpreting the realities that surround us in the light of their underlying essence. On the contrary, he takes us straight away to a speculative height, where the air is too rarified for us to breathe, and he deduces everything from the assumption with which he starts; while he leaves us at the end intellectually prostrate, hemmed in by the laws of the universe, and powerless to act, except as automata that are moved by an all-dominating necessity.

We may go with him, and for a time gaze from that speculative height, whence the universe beneath us seems an ordered hierarchy, closely knit, in which all things from the lowest to the highest automatically fulfil the law of their being. We may even feel that it makes one side of the great mystery more intelligible to us. But when we descend from the height, we find that we also live and move in another world—viz., that of moral freedom; and we find that the consequence of the denial of moral freedom—which is not only explicitly made, but is an essential part of Spinoza's doctrine—is that the resulting system is unable to lift us above the tyranny of Nature. We thus feel that Spinoza is conducting us by a false path, and by an erroneous method. He does not begin with experience, and rise from it to the eternal ground of things, to the substance within the phenomena. He tells us that phenomena are shadows, but he does not enable us to construe them as symbols, to interpret them by that which they mirror or disclose. He begins with abstract Substance,

Essence, and Cause, and reasons down from them—or from it, for they are all one—to derivative existence, but his philosophy constructed *more geometrico* is outside experience. It is a piece of formal logic, and is neither truly metaphysical nor truly ethical.

A knowledge of the consequences of action is all that Spinoza gives us to enable the individual to choose his path in life. Intellectual discernment of the issues of conduct is our sole directory. But if the consequences of all kinds of conduct are equally fixed, do not their moral differences disappear under the wave of this ontological similarity. If my own individuality be abolished, and if all my personal action is but a mode of the action of the infinite Being—or his action as modified in me—and if I am but a wave of the sea of being, what matters it whether the surface be rough or calm? Nay, may not the variety be fair to contemplate, and the change desirable for health?

No doubt the philosophy of Spinoza inculcates the loftiest morality. It is a mathematical philosophy, which culminates in the purest and most disinterested love of God, a love which asks for nothing in return. But if everything be hopelessly necessitated, if man is an automaton—if we are not persons, but things—then whatever is, is right; and whatsoever comes to pass is, in its relation to the universe at large, equally and absolutely perfect. It is thus that a necessitarian theory of conduct may be redargued from its consequences; and every fatalistic scheme, however clear its intellectual form, is met as it cuts across the instincts of the heart by the belief in the moral freedom and the instinct of personality. We are both free and not free, both free and determined. Such is the testimony borne by experience. Usually, however, the angular-minded necessitarian says, "Take one of the two alternatives, either that we are free, or that we are not free; but don't let your theory face both ways, or include both the facts or sets of facts; for there is no middle way between them, and no combination of the facts is possible." On the contrary, I affirm with confidence that there *is* a middle way, which shuns the falsehood of the two extremes.

But not only is moral freedom attested by consciousness, all social order, and all public law, are built upon its postulate. If it is the suppressed premiss of individual morality, it is also the only justification of society in punishing the wrong-doer. Why should society punish any one, if he can't help doing what he does? Most men feel that they ought to act in one way and not in another. Is that simply because society compels them, or their acquired habits urge them on? Is it not because certain things are regarded as intrinsically right, and others as intrinsically wrong? And if so, may we not warrantably say that the doctrine of determinism is but a half-truth, which, wrenched from its context, or



divorced from its better-half of freedom, very easily becomes a total falsehood?

In his doctrine of freedom, Spinoza affirms that there is a distinction between the freedom of God and the freedom of the creature—that the former is free, and the latter is not—because the former acts solely according to the laws of his own nature, while the latter has to act also according to the laws of other existences around it. But, as the relation of the infinite cause to the individual things which reveal it is merely that of the whole to its parts, or of the one to the many, it follows that the universe as a whole is free, but that each part of it is not free. The whole acts from the laws of its own nature, while each part acts from the laws of the other parts. That surely is a moral contradiction in the system.

It is true that the philosophy of Spinoza may guide and nourish a noble nature, given a noble nature (like his own) to start with. In answer to the charge of irreligion, he said, "Is it to cast off religion to acknowledge God as the supreme good, and to love him with singleness of soul, which love must constitute our highest felicity and most perfect freedom, to believe that the reward of virtue is virtue, and that the punishment of ignorance is ignorance, and that everyone should serve his neighbour, and obey the laws?" That is well and nobly put. It is true, but it is only one half of the truth. Spinoza did not believe in God less than the majority of us do, but *more*: only, his expansion and enlargement of the notion, led by inevitable reaction to its abolition altogether. The bare category of "existence" was all that ultimately remained. But if we include *everything* within our category, if we get our logical rope thrown round existence in the abstract, it will not be difficult to understand the paradox "everything = nothing." In other words, the infinite and the finite, God and the world, will be *lost in each other*.

Spinoza said he could attach no idea to the word "personality" as applied to God, and yet he added his "firm belief that in the blessed vision of God, which is promised to the faithful, it will be known." This is one of the most curious, and even pathetic statements in his writings. The Hebrew monotheism of his boyhood had vanished. It had been lost in the monism of Parmenides, Plotinus, and Erigena. Nevertheless, a fragment of it clung to him in his intellectual manhood, despite the requirements of his logic. Was it that he had an occasional doubt of the moral power of his own symmetrical system? that he felt he could not love an impersonal Being, an abstract entity, or existence in the neuter gender? In any case, the impossibility of such devotion has been abundantly proved by history.

WILLIAM KNIGHT.

**“The Elements of Ethics.”**

*By J. H. Muirhead, M.A. London: John Murray.  
Cr. 8vo. pp. vi. 239. Price 3s.*

MR MUIRHEAD'S work must rank among the best of the University Extension Manuals. It is characterised by perspicacity of thought and lucidity of style. There is almost a dramatic vividness in the rise of point after point upon the reader's view, till the summit is reached, from which the whole course of thought may be comprehended, and its detailed discussions estimated in their full value. It is apparent, too, that Mr Muirhead's interest in his subject is not that of a mere cool observer of the phenomena of a life in which he takes no further part. His words glow with the interest of one who finds in life the sphere of noblest personal endeavour, and in the Ideal of which he speaks the aim of enduring personal quest. This feature, unexpected, and it might be said, even superfluous, in a Text-book, is fitted to awaken the reader's enthusiasm, and to make his perusal of these “elements of ethics” a means of moral discipline. When we have said this, it may be permitted to us, to remonstrate respectfully with Mr Muirhead on his custom of introducing controversial matter upon religious and moral subjects, and giving off-hand decisions thereon, in the shape of tasteless, irritating footnotes; see pp. 66, 70, 74, 92.

The plan of the book is exceedingly simple. It begins (Book I.) with defining the subject of Ethics, and exhibiting the relation of Ethics to other sciences and to philosophy. Ethical science is concerned with judgments upon conduct, and is the attempt, required by the growth of reflection, to explain these judgments by reference to the social relationships of which they are the necessary pre-suppositions. The Moral Judgment (Book II.) is now discussed. Its object is declared to be voluntary action; and this leads to a most interesting and enlightening treatment of Will, Self, Character, Motive. Mr Muirhead, it is perhaps needless to state of one who looks to Professor Edward Caird as his philosophical progenitor, does not hold to the old view of man as possessed of a faculty called Will, acting as it were *in vacuo*. He identifies Will with the Self, the very personality of a man. Character is the product of the operation of this Will, which is the man, upon what may popularly, and with permissible inaccuracy, be spoken of as the raw material of passion, instinct, and inclination. We see, accordingly, how character at one and the same time is produced by the will in action, and determines the will to action. Similarly, the old distinction of motive and consequent is abandoned, and the difficulty connected

with it disappears. "Thus we may say that an act is good because the motive is good, but we shall be careful to note that by motive we mean, not a mere feeling, but the end with which the will identifies itself in the action, and by so doing reveals its character. On the other hand, we may say that it is the consequences which give moral character to the act; but again we shall be careful to note that this is true only if by consequences we mean, first, consequences as preconceived—*i.e.*, as intended, and, secondly, those of the intended consequences for the sake of which the act is done—*i.e.*, the idea of which is the final cause of the act," p. 59. The central section of the whole book is now reached in considering the standard of Moral Judgment. This is defined to be not external law, not law conceived as internal, *viz.*, conscience, but end. Rightly interpreted, indeed, the language which makes conscience supreme expresses the fact. For conscience is not a separate faculty, but "the whole or true self claiming to legislate for the parts," p. 78. In this sense morality may be described as obeying the voice of conscience; but it is plain that for bare law or decree of an abstract power, we have now the conception of end.

Morality is not obedience to a law, but realisation of an end, the end, namely, which man seeks and must seek to achieve. "The end is an ideal of Self. . . . The *summum bonum* is the *summus ego*," p. 151. How then (Book III.) is this end to be conceived? This leads to a clear and convincing estimate of various ethical theories. The doctrines which define the end as pleasure, and as sacrifice are reviewed and rejected; while a rise to a higher point of view is obtained in the treatment of evolutionary hedonism. One quotation may be permitted as being an eloquent and conclusive reply to the Spencerian conception of a painless equilibrium between highly differentiated functions in society and the individual. "Of an absolute and final equilibrium of the kind demanded, from which pain and conflict will be excluded, Evolution knows nothing. The only analogue to it in nature is death. Where there is life there is progress. In regard to social progress, we have no warrant for believing that individual aspiration after a higher form of life than the environment admits of, will not keep pace with the progress already attained, and that struggle and sacrifice, with the pain that they involve, will not be the permanent portion of the more highly developed—*i.e.*, the more moral—individuals," p. 140.

Under the guidance of the criticism of these theories, we now (Book IV.) arrive at the true conception of the end. The end which forms the standard of morality is social. The good which is the aim of moral endeavour is common good. The individual is what he is through his place in society. He exists to fill that place and adequately discharge its functions. Through fidelity to this vocation

he becomes what he ought to be. "He realises himself by enabling society, through him, to perform the particular function which is represented by his station and its duties," p. 162. In the fulfilment of these duties, from point to point, full satisfaction is attained. The author vigorously repudiates any outlook to a possible future as essential to the satisfactoriness of life. "The end or ideal in morals is not to be conceived of as 'some far-off' divine event' which is some day to come to pass. It is daily and hourly realised in the good act itself. Such an act is not a means to a further end; it is itself the end," p. 174.

In the light of this conception of morality as self-realisation, Mr Muirhead does a bold thing, and actually produces a classification of virtues. In our opinion, he might have been better advised to have left this attempt unmade. The self to be realised is, as Mr Bradley would say, a whole and an infinite whole, to be studied in the relations in which it actually appears, not to be analysed into any mere bundle of virtues. The Table of Virtues presented in p. 186 does not, of course, pretend to be exhaustive; and it is not on this ground we object to it. It is rather because it seems to us to be a descent from the standpoint already reached. Character cannot be articulated like a skeleton; and any character modelled on a scheme of virtues, however carefully arranged, would be intolerably mechanical, self-righteous, and disagreeable. There remains (Book V.) the crowning difficulty of all, to combine this view of morality, as the attainment of a social end, with the fact of historic movement in the forms of Social life. Here our author makes a bold plunge into that sea of metaphysics whose mighty waters have been calling to him, even when he was engaged in matters the most experimental. History is the realisation of a moral ideal of which conscience is the source. New circumstances as they arise form the occasion for further realisations of the ideal; and the ideal as thus realised forms the impulse to a further modification of the social environment. In order that this historic movement may proceed, the Ideal requires to be continually interpreted afresh, and served with ever-renewed devotion. This is the work pre-eminently of social reformers, who may often become the martyrs of the cause they serve with such complete self-sacrifice. To such a life of service, whose fulness is reached through death, the closing pages of this treatise are an eloquent invitation.

So far, we have characterised this treatise as what it professes to be, a manual of ethical science, and have had almost nothing but praise to give it. If, however, we take it in a higher sense as an exposition of worthy and satisfactory living, we must be allowed to express our profound dissatisfaction with it. Granting the lofty ideal of the writer, his noble view of self-sacrifice, and his strong

sympathy with social reform, we have still to ask how this life is possible for man, and have to complain that large elements of character have been omitted from this estimate of the ideal life of man. To enter into detail would be to expound a system of Christian ethic in distinction from the idealist ethic, which, borrowing its contents from Christianity, repudiates the Christian faith as the necessary source of man's higher life. At the risk of seeming barely dogmatic, let us close with these assertions of our view of the moral problem. (1) The ideal of life, which is being progressively realised in history, is personal. To Mr Muirhead and his school self-consciousness, or conscience, which is simply self-consciousness viewed ethically, is the source of this ideal, and finds in the social environment the occasion and sphere of its realisation. Self-consciousness is thus sufficient to itself, and builds up by its own creative energy the world of knowledge and the world of moral action. The Christian teaching is that this identification of self-consciousness, as it appears in the individual, with the absolute self-consciousness, mind or will, which manifests itself in the universe, is morally untrue. In individual self-consciousness we do, indeed, meet with a self-revealing Spirit—*i.e.*, a person who is in himself the truth of Nature and the ideal of life. This ideal, as Mr Muirhead well remarks, needs an interpreter, and, we add, a revealer and verifier; but this cannot be found in a mere series of teachers or reformers, but in one who is the ideal, living and breathing amid the conditions of human life. Hence we ascribe to the person of Christ absolute moral value. Morality finds its basis in religion. The ideal it seeks is presented as realised already; and only because that ideal is realised can it be sought with passionate devotion and deathless energy. (2) The end of moral life for the individual is personal likewise. To define the end by reference to any form of social life is inadequate, for, by the very term employed, a form cannot afford adequate realisation for an infinite Self—*i.e.*, a Self whose satisfaction is found only in communion with the infinite. Widen the form as you will, till it be a cosmopolitan state inclusive of all mankind, it is formal, and therefore, inadequate still. “‘Realise yourself as an infinite whole,’ means,” says Mr Bradley, “‘Realise yourself as the self-conscious member of an infinite whole, by realising that whole in yourself.’ When that whole is truly infinite, and when your personal will is wholly made one with it, then you also have reached the extreme of homogeneity and specification in one, and have attained a perfect self-realisation.” Mr Muirhead makes a curious mistake, when, having in view, apparently, ordinary Christian teaching, he says the end cannot be “mere obedience to the will of God.” Christian teaching does not assert obedience as the end, but as the means.

The end is the will of God, appropriated by the individual as his will, the aim and end of his individual effort, so that he becomes in growing measure the organ of a Will with which he is one. The good, which is defined by reference to social institutions, the Family, and the State, is simply a partial revelation and attainment of the good which consists in fellowship with God, and moral assimilation to Him. (3) It is true, as Mr Muirhead remarks in passages already quoted, that there is satisfaction in each moment of good conduct. But it is not true that that satisfaction is complete. There is failure on two sides. In reference to the individual, as long as the perfect harmony of the whole self is not attained, any expression of moral activity must be imperfect, a shortcoming, if not a transgression. In reference to others, we have to wait for them, our own satisfaction being bound up with their attainment, so that we without them cannot be made perfect. From a moral point of view, therefore, the Christian belief in a Parousia vindicates itself. The good is attained in the good life, but under such limitations as contain the presage of an ampler realisation, when other conditions are provided, these being, subjectively, the vision of God, objectively, the Restitution of all things.

We close with these very bare statements, of whose inherent rationality, however, we are profoundly persuaded, being convinced that the very ethic in which Mr Muirhead has so noble an interest, must rest upon faith in Christ as the ground of its truth, and the source of its power, as well for the individual as for society.

T. B. KILPATRICK.

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**Acta et Decreta sacrosancti œcumenici Concilii Vaticani cum permultis aliis Documentis ad Concilium ejusque Historiam spectantibus.**

*Auctoribus Presbyteris S. J. e Domo B. V. M. sine Labe conceptæ ad Lacum. Cum Approbatione Revmi Archiepiscopi Friburgensis. Friburgi Brisgovie. Sumptibus Herder. MDCCCXCII. 4to, pp. cc. 1942 cols. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Price M. 26.*

THIS stately volume was first published in 1890 as the seventh in the series which it completes. It is now issued separately as an independent volume, for the benefit of those who wish to furnish themselves with the documents of the Vatican Council alone; and for those who in future wish to study the history of the Council it will be indispensable. The series, as a whole, comprises the Acts

of the provincial councils held since the Council of Trent: and to very many persons it will have been a surprise that the councils since that time have been so numerous, and their Acts so voluminous, as to furnish material of so imposing a row of closely-printed quartos. It was the late Father G. Schneemann, at that time Professor of Canon Law in the Jesuit College of Maria Laach, who, in conjunction with some of his colleagues in that seminary, projected, and to a large extent accomplished, the bold scheme of forming a collection of conciliar documents on this large scale. Hence the series is known as the *Collectio Lacensis*, its full title being *Acta et Decreta sacrorum Conciliorum recentiorum*; and at six pounds for the seven volumes it is certainly not dear. Not all the volumes can be had singly; and of those which can be bought singly this last on the Vatican Council is the largest.

Father Schneemann did not live to see it published. Only the first volume of the series had made its appearance when the May Laws drove him and his assistants out of Germany; and the next five volumes were issued from Holland. And while the concluding volume, which now lies before us, was being prepared, Schneemann died; broken down, it is said, by overwork. Father Granderath, at one time Theological Professor at Ditton Hall in England, succeeded him as editor; and with the help of Aymans and Esseiva, who had been Schneemann's chief assistants, he completed the volume and the series. Granderath took back to Rome the documents which had been collected by Schneemann; and there Mgr. Cani, the keeper of the Pontifical Archives, allowed him to collate them afresh with the originals, and also to make considerable additions to them. Granderath was also allowed to make use of the official reports of the deliberations of the *Deputatio de Fide*, which did so much towards shaping the material for the Council. Apparently it was Granderath who discovered these reports in the Archives. Yet, for some reason or other, he was not allowed to make a verbatim copy of them, but to transcribe just so much as would be necessary for explaining the two dogmatic constitutions which were passed by the Council. He also had the use of a *commentarius diurnus* made by a bishop who was a member of the *Deputatio de Fide*.

Only about one quarter of the volume is occupied by the Acts of the Council, and these are printed in large type. This first and more official part contains the Bull of Indiction and other Encyclicals of Pius IX., the two dogmatic constitutions which were finally decreed by the Council, the Schemata out of which they grew, the amendments which were proposed by various prelates during the sessions, and the propositions which the *Deputatio de Fide* allowed to be submitted for nominal discussion in the Council

Hall. For nothing could be brought forward in the mock debate which had not previously been scrutinised and approved by the *Deputatio de Fide*; and whatever did pass the close meshes of that jealous committee was proposed to the Council by a member of the *Deputatio*. Nearly all these documents are copied from the originals in the Archives, and the exactness is guaranteed by the *concordat cum originali* of Mgr. Antonio Cani, the Prefect of the Archives. One wonders at the singular verb and noun. Why not *concordant cum originalibus*? The singular might be limited to the last document.

But most of this first part is well-known history. It is in the Appendix, which constitutes three-fourths of the volume, that those interested in the working of the Vatican Council will find the material that is likely to be of most service to them. Here there is a great deal that has never been published before; and the editors deserve the highest praise for the clear, orderly, and (on the whole) complete way in which they have presented these abundant sources of information to the student. We are specially grateful to them for having left the documents to tell their own tale in the language in which they were originally written, and have not thought it necessary to translate French, German, Spanish, and Italian into ecclesiastical Latin. They have furnished the documents with Latin headings, and sometimes with a Latin analysis of the contents; but the documents themselves, whether letters, or speeches, or pamphlets, or what not, are given intact. Very many of these refer to the interior working of the Council, and express the proposals and requests, or protests and complaints of some of those who took part in it. But a still larger number illustrate the external history of the Synod, by showing the attitude which some of the Governments in Europe adopted towards it, the views which independent theologians of the Roman Church took of it, and the utterances of various Protestant bodies respecting it. Among official State documents, those of France, as represented by Count Daru and Ollivier, have the first place. Before the opening of the Council, France had for long been supporting the Papacy with a garrison in Rome, and therefore claimed a special right to the attention of the Curia. Then follow Bavaria, Italy, and Prussia, the documents in the last case being far the most numerous after those of France. In a letter to Bismarck, May 14th, 1869, Count Arnim, who was then Prussian Ambassador at Rome, suggests that the circular addressed by Prince Hohenlohe on behalf of Bavaria to other European Governments, urging a firm attitude against Papal encroachments, was inspired by Döllinger; and January 8th, 1870, he writes to Döllinger himself, suggesting that the Council should be attacked as null and void because of its lack of freedom. Some



of the prelates are beginning to find out that they are the Pope's prisoners: two more months of confinement in Rome, and they will be ready to agree to anything. A fortnight later Döllinger's famous article on the episcopal petition for the definition of the infallibility appeared in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. Other articles by him in the same journal are given also.

Among utterances of other theologians, only a portion of one of Gratry's four letters to the Archbishop of Malines is admitted, followed a few pages further on by his touching letter of submission to the Archbishop of Paris, November 25th, 1871. Before he had written it, but when he had almost made up his mind to submit, the present writer was with him. Gratry received him like an old friend, although they had never met before, and parted from him as from a brother; and he stated clearly and positively in what sense he accepted the dogma—viz., that the Pope's infallibility is neither absolute, nor personal, nor independent. This is a flat contradiction of the Vatican decree. But what was wanted was Gratry's submission: his reservations were his own affair. Dr Newman's letter to Bishop Ullathorne about the "aggressive, insolent faction" who are urging on the definition of the infallibility, as if a definition *de fide* were "a luxury of devotion and not a stern painful necessity," is given almost in full; and with it the correspondence which followed in the *Standard*, as to whether the words "aggressive, insolent faction" had actually been used or not (March 1870). There is also a letter from Dr Cumming to the Pope, in which he declares on behalf of himself and his Presbyterian brethren—*toto corde in Concilio a Te indicto adesse desideramus*: but he wants to know how much liberty of discussion will be allowed. The letters between Hyacinthe and the superior of the Carmelites, and between Hyacinthe and Bishop Dupanloup are mentioned, but are not quoted. Bishop Dupanloup's letter to the Archbishop of Malines, March 1st, 1870, urging strongly the inexpediency of defining the dogma, seems to be given in full. But, in the documents to illustrate *animorum motus tempore Concilii in Gallia*, one looks in vain for any portion of *Ce qui se passe au Concile*, or of *La dernière heure du Concile*. The latter, though published in Munich, was written in French, and was believed to be at least inspired by Archbishop Darboy of Paris. But of course the letter, in which the Archbishop expresses his adhesion to the decree of July 18th, is given in full, March 2nd, 1871. On the other hand, Lord Acton's letter to a German Bishop of the minority, exhorting to steadfastness and courage, September 1870, is not even mentioned.

The activity of Cardinal Manning before and during the Council is duly chronicled. Notice is taken of the pastoral in which he stated that "it is not by criticism on past history, but by acts of

faith in the living voice of the Church at this hour, that we can know the faith:" but the words are not given. The speech, however, in which Bishop Pie of Poitiers opened the debate on the *Schema de Romano Pontifice* appears to be given in full. He was a member of the *Deputatio de Fide*, and there had had much to do with the preparation of the *Schema*; and he concluded his speech with two notable arguments, which he modestly confesses are not original. Paul was beheaded, Peter was not; which proves that Peter and his successors are to be the head of the Church throughout all ages. Again, Peter was crucified with his head downwards; which proves that the head of the Church is the foundation of the Church and bears the whole weight of it, by his inflexible neck raising all the members of Christ's body to heaven! But a line must be drawn somewhere. The fact that Natoli, Archbishop of Messina, spoke on May 14th, is recorded; but not even a summary of his speech is given. In it he told the Council that when Peter preached in Sicily he found many who were already Christians; but they were surprised when he told them that he was infallible, for they had not been taught this as an article of faith. To make certain about it, they sent an embassy to the Virgin Mary, who told them that it was quite correct: she remembered being present when her Son conferred the gift of infallibility upon Peter. The Sicilians have preserved their belief in the infallibility of the Pope ever since.

From what has been pointed out as to the omissions which any one at all acquainted with the literature of the subject can easily detect in this volume, it will be seen that it by no means banishes to a top shelf the works on which we have hitherto relied for the history of the Vatican Council. Least of all can Friedrich's *Documenta ad illustrandum Concilium Vaticanum* (Nördlingen, 1871) be dispensed with. That collection contains a large mass of material of which Granderath and his assistants have made no use. One understands well enough why they have omitted Archbishop Kenrick's speech against the dogma, which was handed in to the secretaries, but never delivered, because the presidents applied the closure, and thereby prevented some forty members of the Council who had sent in their names as intending to address the assembly from expressing their opinions. But there is other important material in Friedrich, the reason for omitting which it is not so easy to guess.

Nevertheless, the value of this collection is very great indeed, and that for three reasons. *Firstly*, It contains documents which have never been printed before. None of these perhaps are of quite first-rate importance. One of the most interesting is a letter from thirteen Bishops and one Bishop-elect in Germany, September 4th, 1869, in which they point out to the Pope that the mere talk of

defining the infallibility as a dogma has caused excitement and dismay among both clergy and laity, and that so far as Germany is concerned they regard the time as *minus opportunum ad definiendum Summi Pontificis infallibilitatem*. The list of those who sign is headed by the Archbishops of Cologne and Munich, and closed by Hefele as Bishop-elect of Rottenburg. *Secondly*, In this volume we have collected together an immense mass of material which hitherto has been scattered in small collections, periodicals, pamphlets, and newspapers, not a few of which have become scarcely accessible. The possession of this collection will save future students of the subject an immense amount of time and trouble and no little expense. *Lastly*, The masterly way in which the whole has been edited adds enormously to its usefulness. The arrangement is good, type and paper are good; and the full and manifold summaries and indices render the finding of what is wanted a matter of ease. At the beginning of the volume there is an *Index documentorum*, and at the end an *Index personarum* and an *Index rerum*. These are followed by indices of various kinds to the contents of the whole seven volumes of the *Collectio Lacensis*. The pains bestowed upon the preparation of the volume must have been immense, and deserve very grateful recognition.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

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### **Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.**

1892. *Erstes Heft und Zweites Heft.*

THESE numbers are full of interesting articles. The two of most importance are those on "The Relations of Christianity and Buddhism," and "The Ethic of Paul." For want of space the others can be simply mentioned.

In Part I., R. Gandmann begins his discussion of Buddhism by noticing the new significance it has gained in our time, due to certain anti-Christian influences which seek religious satisfaction in a pure philosophical form of this ancient faith. Those who are disturbed by a rationalistic criticism of historical Christianity are finding refuge in Pessimism and Pantheism, and on the shoulders of these a revived Buddhism is coming into vogue, so that a proposal is on foot to form the religion of the future by a combination of the best elements in Christianity and Buddhism. The present article takes its start from this, shewing how impossible such a thing is in view of the fundamental differences in the two faiths.

1. The ground thought in both religions is the same—Salvation; but salvation has a very different content in each. For Christianity it is an act of God in Christ, whereby forgiveness is won and offered to all, and a spiritual power is promised to cleanse men from con-

scious sin and give a present experience of life in God. It brings new worth to life here, and new hope for life hereafter. In Buddhism, on the contrary, salvation rests not on a sense of sin against God, but on a view of the world as evil derived from philosophical Pessimism, which can only look for relief from misery in relief from life. Individual existence is a misfortune; salvation is to be sought in deliverance from it. The person of Buddha occupies a small place in his religion; men are to find salvation as he found it; he simply shews the way. There is a moral element in Buddhism supplied by the "New Birth" and "Karma," but this is rendered nugatory by the ground view of life,—even a succession of births is only a succession of evils. The worth of individuality is given up. "God" is impersonal, "sin" is practically non-existent, "life" is an evil—therefore let us seek *escape*.

As to the *How?* that is by a loss of self-consciousness in the "all." Buddha found it in profound concentration of thought, in which he became passive, without will or feeling, one with the life of nature and "God." Hence salvation is an art, to be learned even by rules. It is a kind of self-hypnotising, in which individuality is lost by full concentration on a single point. This is the beginning of a salvation which comes nearer in successive re-births. The final goal is complete absorption in the All.

2. In ethics, Buddhism is as different as in theology. Love is here the central point indeed, but its motive is only a disguised egotism, the destruction of one's *own* needs in view of the happiness which follows. It is not Christian love. Buddhism teaches self-repression simply because self-love is the cause of the errors which lead to a new birth in a lower grade. Its love is really self-satisfaction. The wise man knows neither love nor hate, as both are part of a remaining ego. The warmth of Christian love is to Buddhism something to be got rid of.

In a closing summary the writer contrasts Buddha and Christ, the history of Buddhism and the history of Christianity, and describes the system of Buddha as eternal death, without God; in contrast with the Christianity of eternal life whose fount is God the Father.

H. von Soden begins his treatment of the ethic of Paul by shewing that Christianity appeared as a moral power, and that Paul (like Christ) preached a religion having its life in morality. The new Gospel was to issue in a new moral life. All Paul's religious ideas rest on moral pre-suppositions—sin, law, works, righteousness are his favourite words.

1. *The Chief Features of Paul's Ethic.* His moral ideal had its motive and power in religion, (1) The *motive* to morality is self-surrender to God, based on God's loving call to us. Here the transference of the term "holy" (a purely religious idea, chosen and

called of God), to the moral sphere is significant. (2) The *power* to realise moral life Paul finds in a spiritual change—the “new creation.” The new man is filled with the Spirit, *i.e.*, Christ Himself, and this is the power of the moral life. Yet not so as to destroy man’s freedom. Paul states both sides of the antinomy, the divine and the human, without attempt to reconcile them. Freedom is a fundamental idea of Paul’s Ethic. The Christian is free *from* the old Law and free *in* the power of the new Spirit. The moral ideal is the man who does good out of this new life freely and not from external compulsion. This is related in an interesting manner to modern perfectionist extravagances. (3) The *norm* of morality is the will of God, exhibited in various forms—the Law, the words and the example of Christ—which yet does not determine the Christian from without, but has come into him and is one with him.

2. *The Concrete Details.* Paul built no system, he only laid the foundation stones. His expressions on individual questions are therefore occasional. But they are numerous enough to give a fairly complete account of his attitude to various spheres. (1) The conduct of man as an individual, *i.e.*, his duties to himself. These are threefold:—(a) in relation to the personality itself; (b) in relation to the bodily life; (c) in relation to worldly things. Little is said of the first set of duties except the exhortation to strength of character. Much more is said of the body. It is the temple of the Spirit, and its members are to be servants of righteousness not of lust. As to the last point the great thing is contentment, to have *inward* freedom from earthly possessions. (2) The conduct of man as a member of a community, *i.e.*, his duties to others. Here all is ruled by the command to love. This is the norm in *all* relations, even to non-Christians. It is based on the fact that in Christ all differences are done away, all are brethren saved by Him, and to wrong a brother is to wrong Christ. This branch of Paul’s Ethic is briefly related to the various forms of common life—family, municipal and national, so far as material exists for the purpose. In conclusion, two features of Paul’s moral teaching are noted, (1) that norm, power and motive are gathered to a unity and blended with the personality, so that all is *free*; and (2) that this morality is not negative, but all is power, energy, life.

The other articles are: in Part I., “Kingdom of God, Community and Church in their Significance for Christian Life and Teaching” (very interesting), and “The First Official Confession” (a commonplace treatment of Deuteronomy as a public code); in Part II., “The Relation of the Inner Mission to Church Organisation,” and the first of some “Luther Studies.”

FREDERICK J. RAE.

## Notices.

The Archbishop of Tuam's *Exposition of the Pauline and Catholic Epistles*,<sup>1</sup> has reached its fourth edition. It is introduced by letters of approbation from Pope Pius IX. (dated 1858), Pope Leo XIII. (dated 1879), Cardinal Wiseman (dated 1856), the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, and the former Archbishop of Tuam. It was written when the author held a professorship in one of the Irish Divinity Schools, and consists of "a condensed abstract of a portion of the lectures" delivered in that capacity. It has been improved from time to time, as edition after edition was called for, the last being issued in 1891. It has thus had a large circulation, and appears to have commended itself to the laity as well as the clergy. It aims at providing a "popular and thoroughly Catholic exposition," which may help to refute the charge that the Church to which the author belongs is opposed to the Bible. It is meant to be a "further practical confirmation of the arguments whereby is abundantly demonstrated the anxious desire of the Catholic Church to have the Holy Scriptures, hedged round with proper safeguards, communicated to her children." It follows the plan adopted in Piconio's Commentary on the Epistles of Paul. The text is taken from Duffy's edition (Dublin, 1857), with collations from the Clementine Vulgate. In this respect, therefore, it is a long way behind date. The text is accompanied by a Paraphrase, on which some pains have been spent. The Commentary itself is comparatively brief, and has a practical rather than a scientific object in view. It is interspersed with moral reflections. It has a tendency to deduce unexpected inferences in favour of Catholic doctrine and practice. Thus the fact that Paul speaks of the Thessalonians as his "glory and joy" (1 Thess. ii. 20), is made to support the Catholic invocation of "the Blessed Mother of God," and to recommend the happiness of securing "the patronage, at the hour of death, of this *powerful Virgin*, in whom no one ever confided and was confounded." The real difficulties of the exegesis are seldom touched. At times, however, especially in the Epistles to the Romans and the Hebrews, there are good notes on doctrinal passages, while the practical teaching of the Epistles, especially that of James, is also very forcibly put. In other matters, too, good sense often prevails. Thus, on Jude 14, 15, it is remarked, "even though it were quoted from the apocryphal Book of Enoch, it furnishes no argument against the inspiration of this epistle, any

<sup>1</sup> An Exposition of the Epistles of St Paul and of the Catholic Epistles, &c. By His Grace the Most Rev. John MacEvilly, D.D., Archbishop of Tuam. 2 vols. Fourth Edition, enlarged, revised and corrected. Dublin: Gill & Son. Imper. 8vo, pp. xxi. 457, and pp. 475. Price 18s.

more than quoting the Pagan writers (1 Cor. xv. 23 ; Titus i. 12) does against the inspiration of these Epistles of Paul."

We mention with pleasure a cheap edition of the biography of Robert Moffat and Mrs Moffat, a book which should find its way into every household.<sup>1</sup> An English translation of Père Médaille's *Meditations on the Gospels*<sup>2</sup> will be welcome to devout members of the Roman Catholic Communion. It is the first English version of a book written by a French Jesuit who died in 1709, which has been translated into Latin, Italian, Spanish, German, and Dutch. The *Meditations*, as might be expected, contain much that is of value only from the Catholic point of view. But they contain not a little that is of general worth, and they have the merit of being short, direct, and suggestive. Each *Meditation* consists of three points, tersely stated and practically developed each in a few lines.

Among various volumes of sermons recently received we mention one by the Rev. R. Rutherford which contains some profitable discourses on the "good part," "the commandments of God not grievous," and other important texts, and also four sensible Pastoral Papers;<sup>3</sup> and a second by the Rev. C. Holland, Rector of Petworth,<sup>4</sup> giving some fifty short, simple, pointed discourses, selected from a collection extending over fifty years.

Mr Patrick's Monograph on Origen's *Reply to Celsus*<sup>5</sup> is a scholarly piece of work. The author has selected an important subject, and has produced a book of considerable Apologetic value. The interest of the subject is large and varied. There is, for one thing, the comparatively modern turn of much that occurs in the polemic. Celsus stood at the parting of the ways, where the earlier, coarser style of attack ceased to avail, and it became necessary to adopt a new form of assault, proceeding on some real knowledge of the nature and aims of Christianity. Like some others, he attempted to establish the sufficiency of a philosophical Theism. He saw that this could

<sup>1</sup> The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat. By their Son John S. Moffat. Ninth and Popular Edition. London: T. Fisher Unwin, cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 314. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> *Meditations on the Gospels for every Day in the Year.* By Père Médaille, S.J. Translated into English under the direction of the Rev. W. H. Eyre, S.J. London: Burns & Oates, cr. 8vo, pp. xxvii. 537. Price 6s.

<sup>3</sup> That Good Part, and other Sermons Preached to a Country Congregation. By Robert Rutherford, M.A. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 8vo, pp. 327. Price 5s.

<sup>4</sup> *Gleanings from a Ministry of Fifty Years.* By Rev. Charles Holland, M.A., Oxon. London: Elliot Stock, 8vo, pp. viii. 311. Price 5s.

<sup>5</sup> *The Apology of Origen in Reply to Celsus.* A chapter in the history of Apologetics. By John Patrick, B.D., Minister of Greenside Parish, Edinburgh. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 340. Price 7s. 6d.

not be done except at the cost of Christianity. But he differed from others, like Lucian, in thinking that it could be done in harmony with the popular religious beliefs. Mr Patrick offers some just remarks on the distinctive character both of the attack and of the reply. He makes a careful enquiry into the history of the *True Word*, and follows this up by an elaborate analysis of its argument. He concludes that the book was written at Rome, and assigns its date to the period between A.D. 169 and 176, when Marcus Aurelius was sole ruler, or to the period between 176 and 180, when Aurelius and Commodus were joint rulers. The statement of the arguments in support of this date, drawn from the internal condition and external relations of the Church, is both fair and pointed. The analysis and criticism of Origen's reply cover all that is of real importance. Among many things of interest in Mr Patrick's Monograph we can notice only one or two. He holds the identification of Celsus with Lucian's friend, supported as it is with so much ingenuity by Keim, to be purely hypothetical. He brings out very clearly and fully the Apologetic importance of Celsus's book as regards the witness which it bears to the books of Scripture, and to the dogmas of the Church. He shows how large an acquaintance it exhibits with the Book of Genesis, how it indicates some knowledge of Exodus, and how it suggests that Celsus *may* also have known Isaiah, Micah, Job, Zechariah, Jonah, and Daniel; while the Book of Enoch is quoted, without being named, as Scripture. On the subject of the New Testament books, Mr Patrick brings under our view the reasons which exist for saying that Celsus knew Matthew well, and also Mark, Luke and John in some degree. He agrees, therefore, with most critics in concluding that all the Gospels were, more or less, in the eye of Celsus. With respect to the doctrine of the Church of those days, he gives a very full statement of the testimony borne by the *True Word* to the fact that Christians of those times believed in the main truths by which the Church has stood in later ages—the miracles of Christ, His resurrection, His divinity, &c. On these and many other matters the author has much to say, and says it to good purpose. His book is an excellent example of the kind of close, patient, independent, historical studies of which we should have more from our younger Scottish scholars.

The importance of Professor Wendt's book on the *Teaching of Jesus*<sup>1</sup> has been amply recognised both in Germany and in our country. The German edition has already been noticed at length in this *Review*. An English translation has been wanted, and there

<sup>1</sup> "The Teaching of Jesus." By Hans Hinrich Wendt, Ord. Prof. of Theology, Heidelberg. Translated by the Rev. John Wilson, M.A., Montreux, Switzerland. In two volumes, Vol. I. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo. Pp. 408. Price 10s. 6d.



should be many readers to welcome the present volume. It is the first of two volumes, which will give an English rendering of the second volume of the German; the first volume of the German, which deals with the critical foundations, being left meanwhile untranslated. Wendt's book is written in the interest of a purely historical interpretation and estimate of the doctrine of Jesus, and in the conviction that the more that doctrine is studied in a strictly historical method, the more will its Author be seen to be the perfect revelation of God. As Professor Wendt predicates a third main source for the Gospel histories, in the form of a document at the basis of our present Fourth Gospel, which he takes to have been the work of a disciple who understood the spirit of the Lord's teaching better than those to whom we owe the Synoptical Gospels, one of the most instructive things in his book is the continuous comparison which is instituted between the representation of the doctrine of Jesus in the Johannine narrative and that in the first three Gospels. No more important contribution has been made to the Biblical theology of the New Testament since the publication of Baur's book, or that by Schmid of Tübingen on the same subject. It should be added that the present volume is more than a simple translation. It is also a careful revision by the author's own hand of the German edition.

Mr Nicol gives a succinct and useful *resumé* of the results of recent investigations and discoveries in the East as they bear on Biblical questions.<sup>1</sup> The chapters which make up the modest volume were prepared originally as a supplement to the sixth revised edition of Robert Young's *Analytical Concordance to the Bible*. Mr Nicol has been well advised to issue them in this separate form. Among the most interesting sections are those dealing with the *Chaldean Genesis*, the *Empire of the Hittites*, and *Egypt during the Oppression*. The book is very well up to date, noticing the Siloam Inscription, the Tel-el-Amarna Tablets, &c. There are brief but careful statements on the *General Results for the Old Testament*, and also on the identification of Gospel Sites. One of the best chapters is the last, on *Ephesus and St Paul*. The volume should make an excellent text-book for Bible classes.

The second volume of the *Church of Scotland Guild and Bible Class Text-Books* comes from the hand of one of the Editors.<sup>2</sup> Mr M'Clymont's contribution is a short introduction to the New Testament. Beginning with a brief chapter on the *New Testament generally*,

<sup>1</sup> "Recent Explorations in Bible Lands." By the Rev. Thomas Nicol, B.D. Edinburgh: G. A. Young & Co. Svo. Pp. 76.

<sup>2</sup> "The New Testament and its Writers." By the Rev. J. A. M'Clymont, B.D., Aberdeen. Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black. Pp. 155. Price 6d. net.

the author proceeds to give notes on its Name, Language, Contents, Manuscripts and Other Witnesses, and its English Versions. Then comes a chapter dealing with the *Gospels* generally—their Name, Characteristics, Origin, Diversity and Harmony; after which each Gospel is separately considered. The *Epistles* are similarly treated, and there are concise statements also on *Acts* and the *Apocalypse*. The writer does not obtrude his own views of disputed questions. Occasionally, however, these appear. The Babylon of 1 Peter, for example, is taken to be Rome, and the Epistle is held to be addressed to Churches mainly Gentile. Jude is pronounced to be by the brother of James, the Lord's brother. As regards questions like those of the date and interpretation of the Book of Revelation, an objective statement is given of the different answers proposed, together with the main considerations relied on in support of each. The small book is full of matter well arranged and lucidly stated.

The latest addition to the series of *Bible Class Primers* is Dr Gloag's *St John*,<sup>1</sup> a careful, exact, informing, and sympathetic study of its subject. The chief incidents in the life of "the beloved disciple," as given in the Gospels and in the Book of Acts, are reproduced in a style altogether suitable for Bible class instruction. A brief but valuable account is also given of John's writings.

Dr Hutchison has added to his previous works on the Epistles to the *Thessalonians*, and the *Philippians*, and *Our Lord's Messages to the Seven Churches*, an Exposition of the Miracles in the Fourth Gospel.<sup>2</sup> The choice of subject is a happy one, the miracles in John's Gospel having a character of their own which at once suggests separate treatment. The author's object is to show what that distinctive character is, and to determine in each case the individual significance and symbolical purpose of the "sign." Dr Hutchison fully recognises the difficulty of his task, and seeks to meet it by getting at the central idea of each miracle on the basis of a careful study of the record itself and its historical setting and circumstances. The volume is attractive in style, reverent in spirit, and enriched by words of weight drawn from many quarters. Without the parade of the exegetical process, it is based, too, on careful exegetical study. Among the best things in the book are the expositions of the "sign" of the conversion of the water into wine, and of Christ's emotions at the grave of Lazarus. It is free, too, from the extravagance to which symbolical interpretation so readily descends.

<sup>1</sup> "The Life of St John." By Paton J. Gloag, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 98. Price 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Our Lord's Signs in St John's Gospel. Discussions, chiefly Exegetical and Doctrinal, on the Eight Miracles in the Fourth Gospel. By John Hutchison, D.D., Bonnington, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. viii. 237. Price 7s. 6d.

Dr Hutcheson's tabulation of these eight miracles deserves mention. He arranges them and defines their significance thus: first there is the inaugural miracle (the water made wine) as a sign of Christ's glory in the transforming and ennobling influence of His Kingdom; then come three distinct pairs of signs,—the first pair (the healing of the nobleman's son and that of the impotent man) depicting His glory in His Kingdom in relation to the individual soul; the second pair (the feeding of the five thousand and the walking on the sea) depicting the same glory in relation to His Church on earth; the third pair (the healing of the man born blind and the raising of Lazarus) depicting it in relation to the world; after which comes the supplemental, post-resurrection sign (the second draught of fishes), illustrating the final fulfilment of the blessings of the Kingdom.

The minister of the parish of Innellan<sup>1</sup> writes an interesting book for the help of those—especially such as are at the beginning of life—who are perplexed by the changing ideas of the day, and are endeavouring to “reconcile the old and the new” in matters of faith. He deals with the questions which he believes lie closest to many minds and are of most serious interest to those he has in view. Without striking any very deep note, the book speaks simply and persuasively of the fundamentals and the ideals of religion, the meaning and the uses of life. It is dedicated to the memory of Frederick Denison Maurice, and it breathes the spirit of his teaching. There is a lack of definiteness at points where definiteness is to be desired. High themes like the *Solidarity of the Race* and the *Gospel and Heredity* are considered, but all too briefly, too easily, and too much under the idea that their difficulties can be solved by calling that *disease* which the theology of Paul and the Reformers calls *sin*. But there is no lack of sympathy with the generous aims and struggling thoughts of youth, nor any lack of conviction in setting before young minds the realities of the moral order of the world, the immortal nature of man, the broad facts of man's relation to God.

A book of a somewhat similar aim, but more distinctly theological, of a more reasoned order, and addressed to a different class, comes from the hand of another minister of a Scotch parish.<sup>2</sup> Mr Lindsay dedicates his volume to the clergy and the cultured laity of all denominations, and argues for the progressiveness of Theology.

<sup>1</sup> A Modern Disciple. By Arthur Jenkinson. London: Nisbet & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 279. Price 5s.

<sup>2</sup> The Progressiveness of Modern Christian Thought. By James Lindsay, M.A., B.D., B.Sc., Minister of the Parish of St Andrews, Kilmarnock. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. xix. 182. Price 8s.

His object is to show that Theology is of its own nature progressive, that, in point of fact, it has been progressive, and never more so than it is now, and that it must be progressive in the future. It is claimed that modern theology has made a great and salutary advance upon ancient and mediæval theology in its method, its spirit, and its contents. The author is right in his general contention, though not at every point. He is right in affirming the gains of modern theology in its Christo-centric basis, its historical and critical method, its better relations to art and science. He is right, too, in what is said of the enlargement and purification of some of its doctrines—the doctrine of God in the matter of His Immanence, the doctrine of the Incarnation in its cosmical significance, the new conception of Revelation, the more adequate view of Prophecy, and the like. It is questionable whether the reduced view of Sin which he advocates, the interpretation of it as disease rather than guilt, and things connected therewith which are claimed to be among the advances of modern theology, are entitled to be so reckoned, or are likely to hold permanent rank as such. The author states his case, however, ably, with the decision of one who is convinced, with the force of a good logician, and with the knowledge of one who has read and thought seriously.

Few men have such a title to be heard in matters of Scottish Ecclesiastical history as the author of the *Law of Creeds in Scotland*, and the *Handbook on Church and State*. Mr Taylor Innes has the story of Scotland, the nation and the Church, upon his heart. He has written so well and with such insight on some of its passages, as to provoke the regret that he has not written more largely. The papers which he has gathered together in the present volume are all the more welcome.<sup>1</sup> To many they will be new, and those who have read them in their first form will be glad to read them again. The sketches of Samuel Rutherford, Sir George Mackenzie, and Sir William Hamilton, show Mr Innes at his best. They are full of life, insight, and delicate analysis. When one reads an essay like that on Rutherford, he begins to question whether he had ever known the minister of Anwoth before. We confess to the feeling that Mr Innes sees not only more than most men in Rutherford, but probably more than there was in the real man himself. The paper, nevertheless, is a most acute, surprising, original study of a man and divine, most notable and to be revered. Nigh half the volume is given to the Church question in the different phases it has had during the last twenty years, and to the theory of the Church and its creed, in itself and in its development during a quarter of a century. The papers which handle these topics naturally will not

<sup>1</sup> *Studies in Scottish History, Chiefly Ecclesiastical.* By A. Taylor Innes, Advocate. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 341. Price 5s.

commend universal assent. But they cannot be studied without advantage, or without recognition of the writer's knowledge, breadth of view, and patriotism. A heart in sympathy with all that is noblest in the strivings of the Scottish people and the Scottish Church beats in them all. An eye that sees "far ben" looks at us through them all.

Dr Briggs had occasion to deliver, in New York and elsewhere, a series of lectures, explaining more fully the views which he stated in his Inaugural Address on the *Authority of Scripture*. These lectures are now published (with the addition of two on *Biblical History* and the *Messianic Ideal*) in a separate volume.<sup>1</sup> They are a defence of the legitimacy and profitableness of the higher criticism. They are also a defence of the position that, while Scripture is the infallible rule of faith and practice, its infallibility does not mean a circumstantial inerrancy. But it is more than this. It is a contribution of some moment to the discussion of the question of authority in religion. It attempts to determine in what sense the Bible, the Church, and Reason are each a fountain of divine authority, while the first of the three alone is the infallible rule of belief and life. The book addresses itself to subjects which are before the mind of this generation, and which cannot be stifled. It is written with clear decisiveness and blunt vigour, and with a command of the sense and history of the Westminster doctrine such as few men can pretend to possess. It has a value independent of all personal considerations. It has a special interest at present in relation to the controversy agitating the American Presbyterian Church on the subject of the Bible and Criticism.

Professor Driver's Treatise on the Hebrew Tenses<sup>2</sup> appears in a new edition. To speak of its merits is superfluous. It has established itself long ago as a book indispensable to the student of Hebrew.

The new and cheaper edition of Mr Weymouth's *Resultant Greek Testament*—a book composed with conspicuous care, and of great service to those interested in the text of the new Testament—is also welcome.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Bible, the Church, and the Reason, the three great fountains of Divine Authority. By Charles Augustus Briggs, D.D., Edward Robinson Professor of Biblical Theology in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Svo, pp. ix. 298. Price 6s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew, and some other Syntactical Questions. By S. R. Driver, D.D. Third Edition, revised and improved. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Cr. Svo, pp. xv. 306. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> The Resultant Greek Testament, exhibiting the Text in which the majority of modern editors are agreed, &c. By Richard Francis Weymouth, D.Lit. With an Introduction by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Worcester. London: Elliot Stock. Svo, pp. xix. 644. Price 5s.

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## Christian Ethics.

*By Newman Smyth, D.D. (being the Second Volume of the "International Theological Library," edited by Prof. Salmond, D.D., and Prof. Briggs, D.D.). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, pp. x. 498. Price 10s. 6d.*

A TREATISE ON *Christian Ethics* very properly finds a place in the International Series of Theological Text-books, in which Canon Driver's book on the Old Testament Literature holds the honourable position of pioneer. And the preparation of such a treatise could not have been entrusted to better hands than those of Dr Newman Smyth. Those who are acquainted with the other writings of this author, especially with his *Old Faiths in New Light*, will be prepared to find in the work which now makes its appearance, a combination of qualities which guarantee it against being ranked among books of the dull or the dry-as-dust order. Here, as in all his works, ample knowledge is united to a philosophic acumen, a freshness of thought, and a literary skill which will make the present volume pleasant and profitable reading, not only to the professional student, but to all intelligent laymen who take an interest in theological studies.

The first business of a treatise of Christian Ethics must be to explain the nature of the discipline, and to vindicate for it a place among the theological sciences. The former part of this task is very simply performed by a few well-chosen phrases in the opening pages of the Introduction. Christian Ethics is defined in language borrowed from Ignatius as "the science of living according to Christianity," or as "the science of the moral contents, progress, and ends of human life under the formative Christian Ideal," and as having for its object "to bring to adequate interpretation the Christian consciousness of life." The other part of the problem, the vindication of a distinct sphere for the theme, is a matter of more elaborate effort. For there is a tendency to deny to Christian Ethics any right of separate existence, and to ask, Why should there be a *Christian* ethic as distinct from a natural or philosophical ethic?

The author's answer to this question is careful and well-balanced. He represents Christian Ethics as distinct from but not opposed to the reasonable conclusions of philosophical ethics. His claim for the subject of his study is that it is "ethics raised to the highest power," the last and fullest interpretation of the world and its history. With regard to scientific Ethics, or the Ethics of

naturalism, he maintains that it does not give a complete induction of the moral facts unless it include in its generalisations the ethics of the best Christian consciousness of life; and he complains that writers who approach Ethics from the scientific side too often treat the Christian moral consciousness as an episode in human history. To be thoroughly scientific, he holds, Ethics must not merely be adequate to the common moral sense of men, but "prove true also to the moral consciousness of the Son of Man." It is obviously an important subject of inquiry in what way morality has been influenced by religion, and in any such inquiry the ethical modifications produced by Christianity are well entitled to a position of exceptional prominence.

In defining the position of Christian Ethics all round the circle of kindred sciences, the author naturally takes occasion to explain the relation of the subject to theology, and to discuss the connection between morality and religion. On both these topics he makes valuable observations. His attitude towards theology as the expositor of the Ethics of Christianity is expressed in terms which have a clear metallic ring. He claims the right to remain true to the ethico-religious consciousness without provocation or prejudice from Christian dogmatics, and declines to lower the Christian conscience before any churchly tradition, or in any supposed dogmatic interest. He believes that "nothing can abide as true in theology which does not prove its genuineness under the ever renewed searching of the Christian moral sense; nothing is permanent fruit of the teaching of Christ which does not show itself to be morally Christ-like." This is sound and healthy doctrine, the fearless and consistent application of which to theology would alter not a little in our traditional systems.

In discussing the connection between morality and religion, the author has in view chiefly writers like Leslie Stephen, who, from the positivist philosophical basis, endeavour to make the former entirely independent of the latter. That the two are relatively independent he admits, but, compatibly with this admission, he regards them as complementary elements of human life, as implying each other, and as ultimately unified in the perfect life. On this account Ethics cannot be satisfactorily treated apart from religion. We must reckon with "the transcendent environment," however conceived. To neglect to do this is to dwarf and mutilate the subject of study. Ethics without transcendental assumptions "is like physics without astronomy." The moral ideal cannot be fully determined by a purely inductive historical enquiry. It contains a superhistorical, if not supernatural truth. "The ideal of humanity is itself above the past or present experience of humanity. It rises over the exalted spirits of our race, like the dawn on the mountains,

from beyond our horizons." This is well said, and there is much more of the like kind. The author cannot be said to have dilated on this important and difficult topic at undue length. Indeed, had space allowed, he might even with advantage have gone further, and discussed the views of theologians of the Ritschl school, who are more or less in agreement with the positivists in regarding religion and morality as independent, while recognising it as the peculiar excellence of Christianity that in it, and it alone, the religious and the ethical ideals coincide, the Kingdom of God as Jesus presented it being at once the highest good and the chief end of man. For a typical exposition of this view, Kaftan's *Wahrheit der christlichen Religion* may be consulted.

The main body of the work now under review is divided into two parts, one of which treats of the CHRISTIAN IDEAL, and the other of CHRISTIAN DUTIES. Each part embraces six chapters. The chapters of Part I. treat in succession of the Revelation of the Christian Ideal, the contents and the realisation of it, the forms under which the realisation takes place, the methods of its progressive realisation, and the spheres in which it is to be realised. Under the first of these six heads, the revelation of the Christian ideal, important and delicate questions come up for discussion. One is the authority of Scripture. Here the author's way of conceiving the Scriptures is to be carefully noted. He puts them in the line of the whole historic working of Christ in the spiritual consciousness and life of humanity. The Scriptures are for him products of spiritual experience; and it is only when so conceived, he thinks, that they can become a rule of faith and practice. . . . It can, he says, "hardly be insisted too urgently that the inspiration of the sacred Scripture is itself put in peril, if it be held separate from the whole work of God's Spirit in humanity; if it is not comprehended as an element and factor in the whole spiritual experience which men have gained of God and the Christ. The doctrine of the Spirit in the Bible is a special part of the still larger doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the life of the world." The aim of this statement is not to degrade the Scriptures from their position of authority. This is recognised, only, however, in the second place. The place of supreme authority is reserved for Christ. The Scriptures have authority because they testify of Him, and in virtue of their "Christian quality." This Christian quality is, of course, not uniform. There are decided signs of shortcoming from the highest Christian level of thought and feeling in the Old Testament, the Scriptures of the earlier and simpler stage of Revelation. Even in the New Testament our author finds variations in the quality. Thus, the Fourth Gospel is more decidedly Christian, human, universal in its tone

than the Apocalypse, in which a certain Judaic element is traceable. The discovery of a law of moral development within the Scriptures down to the very end of the canon naturally raises the question, Does the development stop at that point? The question affects the relation of Scripture to faith; and the peril involved in a wrong answer is, that our whole system of ethical judgments may be brought into confusion, either by a too servile subjection to the letter of Scripture or by a hasty assertion of independence, which would land us in an erratic individualism. The author's answer is summed up in these positions—1. There is a principle of spiritual continuity in Christianity. 2. The Christian consciousness is not only a continuous but also a progressive appropriation of the Christian Ideal,—progressive through the addition of new materials in Christian history, and through the better interpretation of the contents of revelation as given in Jesus Christ, who, of course, is recognised as at once the source and the realised example of the Christian Ideal. On the question as to the relation of Scripture to faith or conscience, the author adopts a *via media* between the view of those who put the Bible in absolute supremacy above conscience, and that of those who subordinate entirely the Scriptures to the Christian consciousness. Scripture and conscience must be held in close correspondence and reaction. In taking up this position, the author claims to be in affinity with the Reformers, as distinguished from the scholastic Protestants of a later time, who insisted on an inerrant inspiration, and an unconditioned authority of Scripture.

In the chapter on the contents of the Christian Ideal, the interest centres in the account given of Christ's presentation of that ideal. Here the ideal appears under four forms—1. The Kingdom of God; 2. Perfection after the pattern of God the Father; 3. Eternal Life; 4. Jesus Himself. The treatment here suggests points for respectful criticism. It may be asked, Is much gained by presenting the ideal under these four co-ordinate forms? Would it not be better to adopt the first as cardinal, and to bring the others into line with it? Another point at which one might be inclined to demur is the way in which the author presents Jesus as the ideal. Our ideal, he tells us, is "the Christ sitting at the right hand of the Majesty on high" (p. 122). The historical Christ, it is implied, is not an adequate presentation of the ethical ideal, and Paul's often misquoted words, "Even though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now know we Him so no more," are cited in justification of this setting aside of the earthly Christ as insufficient in the interest of the heavenly Christ. This view chimes in with present tendencies, but we dissent from it in the interest at once of theoretic truth and of what is practically whole-

some in religion. If the ethical ideal is not revealed in the earthly Jesus, then it is not revealed at all. For we know nothing of the heavenly Christ beyond what we know of the historic Jesus. It is with the materials of the life of Jesus that we fill the form of the heavenly Christ with definite contents. All we know of the heavenly Christ is, that He is the same in Spirit as the Jesus who lived on this earth eighteen centuries ago. To speak of Christ on the throne as embodying the ideal in some sense not covered by the earthly life of our Redeemer is to open the door to a religious mysticism which, beginning by despising, may end in transgressing the fair ideal it embodies. The health of religion demands not disparagement but magnifying of the earthly Christ. Insistence on this is the meritorious side of the Ritschl school. But, we doubt not, our author is in full sympathy with us at this point, though in a few passing sentences he may seem to lean in an opposite direction.

Having ascertained the nature of the Christian Ideal, as historically revealed, the author next proceeds to compare it with other ideals, ancient and modern, the aim being to show its superiority to them all as tested by three characteristics which it is shown to have in consciousness—absoluteness, extension over all spheres of activity, and comprehension of all objects and aims that are good. Passing over this, we come to the realisation of the Christian ideal. Here Dr Smyth begins at the beginning, tracing the growth of mankind towards the moral ideal from the rudimentary moral feeling of the pre-historic stage, onwards to the culmination in Christianity. We cannot follow the discussions of the three stages—the pre-historic, the legal, and the Christian, though we feel tempted to linger over the author's skilful treatment of the Fall; but must pass on to note as of special value his statement as to the ethical significance of the Incarnation. This falls to be spoken of under the head of realisation, because throughout the moral growth of humanity is considered under two aspects, in relation on the one hand to objective environment, and on the other to subjective appropriation. Now, the Christian era was epoch-making in this respect very specially, that it entirely altered man's moral environment, through the new idea of God as Incarnate in Jesus Christ. The ethical significance of the Incarnation is represented as consisting in these particulars—that it enables God to be more than He had ever been before to the moral creation, that it puts man on a new and higher plane of ethical motive and aspiration, and that it puts an end to the sense of enmity between God and man arising out of the facts of sin, and makes God in Christ appear as the soul's eternal friend.

Though the subject of this treatise is Ethics, it contains more

than one good contribution to theology. Prominent among these is a discussion on the immanence and transcendence of God, occurring in the fourth chapter of Part I., on the forms in which the Christian Ideal is realised. Having pointed out that love is the material and faith the formal principle of Christian virtue, the author goes on to consider the nature of love as at once self-affirmation and self-impartation, and to show how, applying the conception of love under these two complementary aspects to the Divine Being, Pantheism is effectually excluded.

"God could not morally have so imparted His own Being to the creation as to cease Himself to be God over it. To surrender His Sovereignty would be to deny His love. Self-imparting love will create man in the image of God, but it will not make man as God. Of His infinitely blessed life God will impart to the creation intelligence, moral capacity, all the good that is implied in self-conscious and free existence. Yet God, however immanent in man's spirit, must remain the transcendent One; and the moral creation, in its fullest reception of the Divine, will continue to be a dependent creation, having its life from God, and not in itself, because God is love, and perfect love cannot deny itself. Pantheism is thus excluded by an ethical necessity. An ever-deepening immanence, yet always some transcendence of God, is ethically secured in the conception of God as perfect love."

Alongside of this contribution to the refutation of Pantheism may be placed a sample of the author's wholesome way of treating some of the weak points of scholastic Protestantism occurring in the same chapter. It is characteristic of ultra-Protestant orthodoxy to be jealous of ascribing any virtue to faith, so that it may appear a mere empty hand laying hold of the benefits of grace. Our author has no sympathy with this jealousy. On the ground that all moral action has character, as virtuous or vicious, he maintains that faith has character and is good, so far as it goes, and that it could not be the root out of which a new Christian virtue grows, unless there were in it at least a moral beginning of right life. This view is in thorough accordance with the teaching of the New Testament, and especially of Paul, who shows no desire to empty faith of moral contents, but represents it as a principle of an energetic nature working through love, and so as good for everything, for sanctification not less than for justification.

In the last chapter of the first part, on the spheres in which the Christian Ideal is realised (the family, the State, the Church, indeterminate social spheres), the author has an opportunity of touching on several questions of present interest, such as the right view of the functions of the State, the idea of the Church, the relations of Church and State. In regard to the first of these topics, he steers a middle course between two extreme theories—on the one hand, what Lassalle ridiculed as the "night watchman" idea of the State,



according to which its function is little more than that of the policeman ; and, on the other hand, the "paternal" theory in favour with socialists, according to which the State becomes a guardian angel exercising a perpetual oversight over individual efforts and pursuits. The clue to right views on this and all other questions relating to the State is found in the idea. In its organic idea, according to Dr Smyth, the State is the legalised expression and embodiment of existing social relations. As such, it is secondary and derived, not primary and fundamental. And its authority, so conceived, does not arise either from the consent of the people (social contract) or directly from God, but from the moral value of the social relations which it organises. "If these are worthless, the State is an assumption, and all organic laws an illusion. But if these primal relations of humanity have moral worth, and are to be brought to their highest possible realisation, then the State is invested with their ethical authority, and is itself an ethical end ; and also, like the family, it will be an ethical means for further realisation of the moral ideal." Once more the proper function of the State can, without much difficulty, be deduced from its idea. The scope and limitations of governmental action are determined by the nature of the primary human relations which lend and which do not lend themselves to organisation and administration through law and under the forms of legal institutions. "The line of demarcation is determined by the distinction between what is immediately personal and only indirectly social, on the one hand, and that which is directly social and indirectly personal on the other. The distinction, though not absolute, is broadly valid, and admits of practical application, given the requisite sagacity in statesmen.

The author conceives of the Church as the Kingdom of God come, and, as such, the Christian idea of society realised in the world. So viewed, it is for humanity at large, and is not simply a means towards an end—the redemption of the soul. This broad conception, —the merit of restoring which to the Christian world is credited to the late Mr Maurice,—carries along with it a corresponding conception of salvation as not merely individual but social, and we are not surprised to find our author regarding with favour "institutional churches," which group around them practical instrumentalities for ameliorating the condition of society in all possible ways.

Church and State would thus appear to be kindred institutions, two organisations apparently having in view pretty much the same end. Are they both necessary, and if they are, how are they related, what is the ideal adjustment of their respective spheres ? On these vexed questions our author has a good deal to say ; and if

the discussion does not result in much new light, the fault lies probably not in him, but in the inherent difficulties of the subject. He discriminates three possible solutions of the social antinomy between civil and religious authority. The first is absorption of either into the other. The second is recognition of both as independent organisations under the organic unity of the whole society, either under the form of a national Church with guaranteed independence, or in the form of a free Church in a free State. The third is a "transcendental unity" of the two powers, resulting from the complete spiritualisation and Christianisation of both. This is the *pium desiderium* of the author, who, however, acknowledges that the goal is as yet far from being reached, and therefore finds it necessary to close his discussion with a sort of prophetic adumbration of the good time coming, which shall hover as a beneficent ideal over the sorrowful disappointing reality, not, it may be hoped, without exercising some healthy influence upon the minds of politicians and ecclesiastics.

The second part, on Christian Duties, begins with a full and suggestive chapter on the *Christian conscience*. The human conscience, it is pointed out, becomes specifically Christian and attains certain definite characteristics, through its formative principle of faith. By faith conscience comes under the power of the personal example of Christ, and remains no longer under the power of an impersonal law. Hence arise two characteristics—a heightened sense of responsibility and a new sense of freedom. Along with these goes a third "quality of great value—hopefulness. The Christian conscience is "Messianic," optimistic, can never be cynical or unsympathetically severe. Yet it is not perfect to begin with; it needs education. And, in connection with this, account has to be taken of the relation of the individual to the community. All conscience is necessarily social, and the individual Christian conscience is formed in the communion of saints. The conscience of the Church, the resultant of the general moral education of the Christian world, is in fact and in right a powerful factor in the moral life of the individual. This truth is recognised in the Roman Catholic doctrine of the confessional, but it should not be left to Rome alone, but should in all branches of the Church be recognised as a needful counter-weight to our excessive moral individualism, so abundantly exemplified in Protestant sectarianism. While, however, the authority of the collective conscience is to be recognised, the rights of the individual conscience must be carefully guarded. The author's statement on this point is highly satisfactory. He knows full well how often the truth has been with minorities, and even with solitary Christian men of prophetic insight. "The leadership of the public conscience has ever been

given to the chosen prophets to whom the Word of God came with power." "The pure individual conscience, which is set for a beacon and a sign, is the universal moral consciousness of an age concentrated and brought to a burning focus in some single reformer's soul." This truth needs to be insisted on, for the average Christian is by no means so alive to the rights of the individual conscience as to the authority of the collective church conscience. "Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted?" Even in the Protestant world the prophets have been first slain in a frenzy of orthodox zeal, then in aftertimes honoured with a monument.

Among the means for training conscience are included the school, the pulpit, the Christian college, the newspaper, especially the religious newspaper, on all of which instructive statements are made. Under the first head, the author deals with the vexed question of religious education in schools in a way which even Scotch readers weary of the subject will find not threadworn. On the subject of religious newspapers he is very racy. Being an American, he is fully aware that the press is too often a social impertinence, a plague, like the frogs in Egypt, overrunning all the houses and entering into every chamber, and that the religious press is frequently an obstructive to the true Christian interest. "Denominational papers," he observes, "have often been narrow, divisive, and obstructive, and their methods of sectarian conflict have by no means been held above reproach. They have usually represented the traditional rather than advancing religious thought of their day." Yet, notwithstanding the bad characteristics of too many so-called religious newspapers, which have brought reproach upon the class, the author recognises the value of religious journalism as represented by exceptional publications, which keep on a high level of Christian intelligence, and breathe a sweet wholesome spirit in their editorial columns.

Duties are classified under three heads—1. Duties in relation to self as a moral end; 2. Duties in relation to others as moral ends (social duties); 3. Duties in relation to God as willing the supreme end of being.

Notable under the first head is what the author contrives to bring under the category of duty to self. The right of *privacy* is discussed under the head of the duty of self-preservation. Outside America this would hardly occur to a writer dealing seriously with the subject of Christian ethics. But the author is quite in earnest, and not merely indulging in a little play of innocent humour. The extent to which the practice of interviewing prevails in his country makes him feel that the topic is urgent, and not to be excluded under any fear that its discussion was beneath

the dignity of the theme. His pleading for privacy is pathetic, and it is to be hoped that it may exercise some influence on public opinion. He reminds readers needing to be reasoned with that an utter loss of privacy would cause much of the finest fruit of civilisation to wither, that life held always and everywhere up to the fierce glare of publicity would soon become a parched and barren field, that only the coarsest and grossest natures can endure the blaze of perpetual noon, and that the shadows likewise are part of Nature's economy of the day, and the quiet night has also its uses. Reference is made to the need, in order to the preservation of the divine spirit in man, felt by public men, to fly from the footlights of their stage of action to the quiet influences of the forests, the loneliness of the lakes, the solitude of the mountains, the soothing presence of the sea. Legislation to check the interviewing and photographing nuisance is plainly hinted at. "Limits should be set by public opinion, and, if necessary, by statute law, to the effrontery of the newsmongers, and the rudeness of the instantaneous photographer, in their invasion of the home, and disregard for the personal belongings of men. No modest and beautiful girl should be left by the laws without protection from the gratuitous insult of a description of her appearance, and her movements in the society of which she may form a happy and gracious part. The good offices of the law, which protects the person of the individual from violence, might be invoked to protect the faces, the dress, the private lives of men and women from the assault of public curiosity through the newspapers." Probably the legislation called for will be forthcoming when a sufficient number demand it with urgency equal to that of our author. But, meantime, it is legitimate to doubt whether the majority either of men or of women want protection for their faces, dresses, and privacies as earnestly as they do for their lives, properties, and persons.

Besides the duty of self-preservation, the author recognises as obligatory on the Christian the duties of self-development, and of realising in the individual life as much as is possible of the highest good. Under the former head, he makes some judicious observations on specialism in education, and the risk to which it exposes men to contraction and impoverishment. He warns specialists that there is a real danger of losing one's soul in absorbing professional study. "A man may give his life in exchange for his science, his art, his single treasure of knowledge, and even for his theology." The other duty to self, that of being happy, is broadly asserted as against a morose view of life, which regards all enjoyment as sinful. It is recognised that there is such a thing as a legitimate and even obligatory Christian ambition, which, without injury to others, endeavours to make the most of self in the

appropriation of the materials of our existence. It is contended that it is not unchristian to make one's home spacious beyond the necessities of existence, and to fill it with furnishings that will give pleasure to those under its roof; all, however, in subordination to the true ideal of life.

We have left ourselves only a little space for a few remarks on the chapter which treats of duties to others. The author finds occasion, in connection with social ethics, to discuss the question, Are we still Christians? in reply to those who affirm that the bold virtues are not recognised in the ethics of Jesus. "The Samaritan who had compassion on the man who had fallen among thieves, is the good man of the Lord's parable; there is no word spoken in commendation of the strong man who should beat back the robbers, or pursue the thieves." The obvious reply to this is, that Jesus laid emphasis on the virtues most difficult to practise, and therefore most neglected. Under the head of the duty of truth the question is discussed, whether lying is in any case permissible? The answer is, that truth must be told to all who have a right to it. It is held that there are some who have no right. The housewife may deceive, if she can, the tramp bent on mischief; falsehood as military strategy is justifiable, if the war is righteous, &c. Characteristic and praiseworthy, as coming from an American, is the insistence on truth in work—"in the arm of the day-labourer, the hand of the mechanic, the finger of the artist, the pen of the capitalist, the brain of the thinker, and in the very imagination of the poet." "An urgent ethical need of the times is a revival of truthfulness amid all handicrafts." "Civilisation needs salvation from sham work, sham thought, sham service, sham study, sham literature, sham orthodoxy." Well said! Anyone who has visited Albany, in the State of New York, and witnessed the huge cracks in the woodwork of the senate room of the Capitol, can understand how an American prophet should feel called on to lift up his voice against trade frauds and shams. May his protest not be in vain!

We commend to the special attention of bachelors what our author says about the social duty of being *married*. He tells them that they ought to get married unless they can show good reason to the contrary. He declines to recognise as a valid excuse the artificial ideas of modern society as to what constitutes a good marriage. He even hints at penalties directed against those who wilfully neglect the duty. We have heard bachelor ministers complain of having to make a compulsory payment to the Widows' Fund. What if the State were to follow the example of the Church, and fine all who, without good cause, choose to remain in single blessedness? A quondam Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to impose a tax on lucifer matches. *Ex luce lucellum*. Some

future Chancellor may seek to raise a little revenue from a tax on those who shun love-matches. Let them be wise in time.

The chapter on the *social problem* is specially interesting and valuable. First, an endeavour is made to ascertain the precise nature of the problem. And we are told that the social problem is not simply the prevalence of social discontent, or the existence of a great amount of poverty, or the employment of some particular method of industrial economy, such as competition. The evils pointed at by the expression consist rather in the impersonality of modern industrial life, produced by the development of machinery, the tendency of society to gather round the opposite poles of capital and labour to the imperilling of social solidarity, the human waste under the present industrial system, and the tendency to permanent monopoly in land, capital, and place, threatening to take from the people at once the means of subsistence and the opportunity of bettering their position, and giving rise to a large ominous mass of social hopelessness. These evils, resulting from the "rapid differentiation of the complex elements and functions of modern life," create a demand for a new and better integration. This statement of the problem leads up to a criticism of the new integration proposed by socialism. The charge of socialists against the present system is represented as reducible to two heads—that it denies the right of every man to a fair share in the products of civilisation, and that its methods—competition, production through private capital, individual ownership of the means of production, and the distribution of goods by a monetary exchange, are radically evil. The rival scheme of collectivism is then examined. The chief fault found with it is ethical—viz., that "it does not give enough space and play to the great law of life and growth, that unto every one that hath shall be given and he shall have abundance; nor does it provide for the ethical judgment which accompanies this law of growth, that from him that hath not even that which he hath shall be taken away." The root of the social problem is declared to be moral evil, and the social problem itself not primarily to provide a better system of distribution with lessening opportunities for extortion, though that is in its own place important, but before all to cast out the devils of greed. In the author's own forcible words—

"How to rid society of the spirit of Judas Iscariot is the ultimate social problem; and that is a question of the man rather than of the money bag: it is not so much an economic as a moral and religious question. Even if we could conceive of a society, organised without military force to keep it together, after the pattern of Mr Bellamy's twentieth century monotony of bliss, the moral problem would remain, How is the spirit of the betrayer to be kept far apart from such homogeneous masses of contentment? how in such an earthly paradise is the entrance of the serpent to be pre-

vented? Industrial independence without real moral freedom, instead of being the attainment of the social goal, might prove to be the beginning of another tragedy of man's fall and need of redemption."

The "social problem" obviously imposes special duties on the Church. The first mentioned is *hearty interest in the question*. The next is patient, practical study of sociological principles. It is specially insisted on that, in present circumstances, such a study should form a part of the professional training of the clergy. We hope the Scottish Churches will take note of this. Why should not the Evangelistic Chair in the Free Church Colleges, at present so useless, be utilised for this purpose? Once more the duty is strenuously enforced on the modern Church to surround itself with organisations promotive of social well-being, having over its porch the motto: "All things to all men for the Gospel's sake."

With this imperfect outline of its contents, we cordially commend to readers of *The Critical Review* a work which we have perused with much pleasure, and not less instruction. A. B. BRUCE.

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### Orientalische Skizzen.

*By Theodor Nöldeke. Berlin: Paetel. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 304. Price M. 7.*

It is superfluous to say of a work on Oriental subjects which bears the name of Professor Nöldeke that it is accurate, thorough, and interesting. The volume he has just published, however, differs in two respects from those to which he has hitherto usually accustomed us. The "Oriental Sketches" are intended to be popular in character, and they are sketches rather than learnedly exhaustive monographs. The learning is in them, it is true; but it is only those whose studies have lain in the same direction who can properly realise its extent and profundity.

One of the "Sketches," that on the characteristics of the Semites, has already appeared in the pages of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. It has, however, been revised, and, according to the author, "improved" in several respects. Two other "Sketches" have also been published elsewhere. All the rest are new.

In the last of them Professor Nöldeke ventures on the slippery ground of modern politics. It is devoted to an account of the rise and fall of "Theodoros, King of Abyssinia." The author's sympathies are strongly with the half-barbarous prince, who for a time restored the old kingdom of Ethiopia, and dreamed of dealing with the potentates of Christian Europe on a footing of equality. His false estimate of the relative power of himself and England, the

misunderstandings which led to the English invasion of Abyssinia, the king's belief in the impregnability of his capital, and his heroic death when all was lost, are described in a masterly way. But in sympathising with the Abyssinian monarch, Professor Nöldeke is hardly just to the English. The difficulties they encountered in the Abyssinian expedition are minimised, and no opportunity seems to be lost of contrasting the misdoings of the British soldier with the chivalry of the Abyssinian king.

Of the other essays in the volume, perhaps the most interesting, and to most readers the newest, are those on "A Slave War in the East," and "On Jacob the Coppersmith and his Dynasty." It was towards the close of the ninth century that the Khalifate of Bagdad was threatened for a while with disaster, if not with dissolution, by two serious insurrections. About A.D. 860 Sistan made itself independent under "the Coppersmith," Jacob, the son of Laith, who soon became master of a considerable portion of the Khalif's dominions. Even Fars, the ancient Persis, was wrested from the feeble hands of the Khalif Motamid, and a dynasty founded which lasted for more than one generation. The revolt of Jacob was followed by the revolt of Egypt in the west, and of Turkestan in the east, and the head of Islâm became hardly more than a prince in name.

Meanwhile the servile war had broken out. Under the leadership of a certain Ali, the negro slaves had declared themselves free, and to the number of many thousands had established themselves in the marshlands of Southern Babylonia. From this vantage-ground they carried on for several years a successful war against the troops of the Government, destroying the neighbouring cities, and harrying the adjacent country. They were assisted by the revolt of Jacob, which prevented the full force of the Khalifate from being brought to bear against them. It was not till A.D. 883 that the decisive battles were fought which led to the death of the negro chief and the capture of his capital. But the war had shaken the power of Bagdad to its foundations, and had introduced a new element of insecurity into social life.

Of the remaining essays in Professor Nöldeke's book, we may single out the two on the Qorân and on Islâm, which give a succinct but clear account of the nature of Mohammedanism and its sacred book. The "general reader" will not find them dull, and in studying them he will have the satisfaction of feeling that he can trust implicitly what he is told. Professor Nöldeke's information is never given at second-hand, and what he tells us is written out of the fulness of his own knowledge.

For English readers, however, it is a pity that the book is printed in German type. Why cannot the popular literature of



Germany follow the example set by its scientific literature, and abolish the eye-destroying characters which still delight the heart of Prince Bismarck? The old Gothic type is an anachronism for a nation which desires to be included among the powers of Western Europe.

A. H. SAYCE.

### The Book of Job.

*By Robert A. Watson, D.D. (The Expositor's Bible.) London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 416. Price 7s. 6d.*

THOSE who are acquainted with the previous volumes in *The Expositor's Bible* will not expect to find in Dr Watson's work anything like a detailed exposition of the Book of Job. His object is not to elucidate obscure passages, but to place as vividly as possible before English readers the main ideas and the train of argument contained in this Book. Dr Watson rightly protests against the notion that the literary and the religious aspects of the work are to be separated—the moral teacher and the artist are, as he says, indissolubly connected, and neither can be understood apart from the other. Accordingly he endeavours throughout to illustrate the Book of Job, not only from the Bible, but from modern thinkers and poets by whom the same great problems have been treated.

How far Dr Watson has succeeded in his attempt to make the Book of Job more attractive and more intelligible to ordinary readers is a matter on which it is hard to pronounce an opinion, as here everything depends on the literary taste of the critic. Dr Watson's style bears much resemblance to that of Archdeacon Farrar; it is characterised rather by fervour and exuberance than by conciseness and perspicuity. To many this will appear a merit, but others will be inclined to cry for mercy when they find that a large part of the work consists of such passages as the following:—"The fire burns through the sculpture and carved framework and painted windows of his art with no loss of heat. Yet, as becomes a sacred book, all is sobered and restrained to the rhythmic flow of dramatic evolution, and it is as if the eager soul had been chastened, even in its fieriest endeavour, by the regular procession of Nature, sunrise and sunset, spring and harvest, and by the sense of the Eternal One, Lord of light and darkness, life and death" (p. 5).

Dr Watson is inclined to follow Ewald in assigning the composition of the Book of Job to the period of the overthrow of the Northern Israelite kingdom, and he suggests that the author may have been himself a Northern Israelite who had escaped from the sword of the Assyrian (p. 17). He shows (as has been done by others—for

example, by the Dean of Westminster) that the book is in no sense the product of a primitive age, but everywhere pre-supposes a tolerably advanced civilisation. He agrees with all competent critics in ascribing chapters xxxii.-xxxvii. to a much later author, whom he supposes to have lived after the Exile. As to the other portions of which the authorship is disputed (chapters xxviii. and xl. 15-xli. 34), he expresses no decided opinion, though he seems to feel some of the difficulties which they present. Accordingly, he suggests that chap. xxviii. is not put into the mouth of Job, but is "a chorus after the manner of the Greek dramas." Of whom this "chorus" consists he does not tell us.

In linguistic and historical matters Dr Watson is a very unsafe guide. No real scholar could possibly be guilty of connecting the name Uz (Hebr. *עֶזְרָא*; in the Septuagint *Αὐσῆτις*) with the Arabic *Oweysit* or *Owsit* (p. 22). This latter means "middle, half-way place," from the root WST, and therefore has nothing to do with *עֶזְרָא*; in *Αὐσῆτις* the *τ* is, of course, merely part of the Greek termination (cf. *Μωαβῆτις*, *Ἀμμωνῆτις*, &c.). Dr Watson is likewise drawing entirely on his imagination when he concludes from the words of Jeremiah, "Is wisdom no more in Teman?" (Jer. xlix. 7) that "in the region of Idumæa the faith of the Most High was held in remarkable purity by learned men," &c. (p. 25). Similar expressions are applied in the Old Testament to the Phœnicians (Zech. ix. 2), yet it is certain that the wisdom of Phœnicia did not by any means lead to "remarkable purity" in the matter of religion.

A. A. BEVAN.

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### Commentar über das Buch "Esther" mit seinen "Zusätzen" und über "Susanna."

Von Dr Anton Scholz, Professor an der königl. Universität Würzburg. Würzburg: Woerl. Svo, pp. xxxviii. 182, u. Anhang cviii. Price M. 6.

THE last few years have been fruitful in ingenious speculations regarding the Book of Esther. On Prof. Paul de Lagarde's treatise "Purim" (Göttingen, 1887) there followed quite recently, in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. VI., No. 1, a paper by Dr P. Jensen, from which we learn that the various personages in Esther are neither more nor less than Elamite gods and goddesses! But all these brilliant performances pale before the pyrotechnics of Prof. Scholz. The strangest part of the matter is that the new theory has been elaborated by a devout Catholic in the interests of the Christian faith. How far the "Catholic" Professor surpasses in

boldness all his "Protestant" and "Rationalistic" predecessors may be seen from the following summary.

The Book of Esther in its original form (which has unfortunately perished) was not a historical narrative, but a religious allegory, based upon Ezekiel's prophecy about Gog. Ahasuerus represents mankind brought into the Messianic kingdom. Haman, whose epithet "the Agagite" clearly refers to "Gog," is the Evil One. Mordecai is the converted Israel. Esther is the most interesting character of all—she is at the same time the Church, the Mother of God, and the converted heathen world. This beautiful and edifying parable was grossly misunderstood by the later Jews, as also by the Christians. Accordingly, the original text was ruthlessly "revised," the "prophetical" allusions were often suppressed or altered, and the absurd attempt was made to transform the book into a narrative of historical facts. Hence modern interpreters, who construe the whole literally, have always fallen into one of two errors—they have either endeavoured to defend the historical truth of the narrative, in spite of all its manifest impossibilities, or else pronounced that Esther is a romance, to the scandal of devout believers. The allegorical interpretation alone supplies the clue to the Book.

It is hardly necessary to say that this theory involves a complete reversal of all that has hitherto been believed as to the history of the text. The Greek versions, according to Prof. Scholz, are not re-modellings and expansions of the Hebrew text, as we have always supposed, but really come nearer to the "prophetic" original. In the Hebrew text much has been omitted, and much has been added by Scribes, who pieced together the glosses and marginal notes which they found in their copies, so as to form new chapters. The fabricators of the new chapters, as the Professor naïvely remarks (p. xix), show marvellous skill in making this patch-work of marginal notes present the appearance of a continuous story. Any one who has tried to construct a narrative out of the marginal notes in the Revised Version of the English Bible, for example, will be able faintly to realise what skill these Scribes must have possessed.

It is but fair to add that Prof. Scholz does not expect his interpretation to be accepted at once by everybody (p. i.). Although "no theory respecting the Bible is proved by such crushing evidence" (p. xxxvii.), the power of prejudice will probably hinder many from seeing the truth. Whether the Catholic Church will welcome this new light is a matter on which a Protestant cannot, of course, form an opinion. But however we regard the allegorical theory it is impossible to deny that Prof. Scholz deserves great admiration for his patient research, and for the sincerity with which he has sought to further the cause of learning.

A. A. BEVAN.

**Zwingli's Theologie. Ihr Werden und ihr System.**

*Dargestellt von August Baur, Dr Theol.; Halle, Niemeyer. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. viii. 543, and pp. ix. 864. Price M. 30.*

THE professed object of this elaborate work is to trace the growth of Zwingli's theology. The environment of the theologian has not, however, been neglected, and wisely; for of systems of theology it may be said, as Plato said of Laws, that they are not created by men, but by all sorts of circumstances and surroundings. Zwingli was not a solitary thinker who framed a system to gratify an intellectual craving for ordered thought. He was preacher, churchman, and statesman. The demands of his public position converted him into a System-Builder; for the eager curiosity of the age craved for an answer, and, if possible, for a complete answer, to the numerous questions which had been brought to the front by the religious revolution. The Romish Church, moreover, possessed an imposing theology and polity, and Evangelical theologians felt that they must confront them with a system based on their own principles, if their Church was to maintain the hold the religious movement has given to it.

Zwingli's theology has a somewhat tragic significance in the history of the Reformation. It was the first of those *Variations of Protestantism* which furnished Bossuet with his most plausible argument against the Reformed Faith. Protestant writers have often treated the controversy between Luther and Zwingli as a lamentable quarrel to be passed over with silent regret. Dr Baur, more justly, regards it as the inevitable outcome of a divergence in religious thought. That this view is the correct one will be apparent if we consider the characters and the mental history of the two Reformers. Luther was trained in the Augustinian theology, and his natural bent towards mysticism had been strengthened by diligent study of Tauler, the *German Theology*, and other mystical works of the Middle Ages. In spite of his denunciations of monasticism, the spirit of the cloister was strong within him; its meditative piety was the element in which he lived. To classical antiquity, and to its revivals, he was indifferent, save in so far as the restoration of the knowledge of the languages threw light upon the meaning of Scripture. To the revival of the classical spirit he was as hostile as any monk. Zwingli, on the other hand, at the beginning of his career, was a Humanist. He was never under the spell of the Church of Rome, although he was its priest, and he despised scholastic theology and monastic piety as heartily as Erasmus. "A priest of Christ and of the Muses," he was devoted to classical

literature, and his religion was the vague philosophic religion of the Humanists, half Christian, half Pagan, of which Dr Baur gives an admirable example in an extract from a letter addressed to Zwingli by Beatus Rhenanus. As time went on, Zwingli departed from the vague religion of the Renaissance, and preached a Gospel that did not differ from Luther's, nor was he less zealous against Romish superstition. But he continued through life to value classical literature not for its form alone, but for its substance, maintaining that God spake by heathen sages and poets, as well as by the prophets. In one of his latest works he opened, without hesitation, the kingdom of heaven to the sages and poets, and even to the legendary heroes of antiquity. The passage excited the anger of Luther, who declared that it implied a denial of the truth of Christianity.

It is surprising that with such views Zwingli did not remain outside of the Reformation, indifferent, if not hostile, like other German scholars. What was the process of thought or experience by which Zwingli was changed into Evangelical preacher and Reformer is not quite clear, for he does not indulge in many personal references. In their absence, we may hazard the conjecture that it was his sense of public duty rather than any imperious spiritual longings that led him to change. Unlike most scholars of the time, who were cosmopolitans, he was an ardent Swiss patriot; and he was strongly moved by a wish to enlighten and guide the flocks committed to his charge. The vague religion of the Renaissance, although not so powerless as it is sometimes represented,—it still survives as a *religio laici* among a large number of cultivated men outside the Church and within, in the various forms of Broad Churchism,—has never been an effective religion for the people, who crave for something more definite. In the New Testament Zwingli found a teaching which was strong to control and to comfort simple men and women, and yet free from the puerilities of the effete Mediæval Faith. There is much in Zwingli's modes of action that gives confirmation to the theory that his manner of preaching was at first largely determined by the need of his fellow-countrymen. Unlike Luther, who, prophet-like, spoke his message with little regard to what men would think of it, Zwingli was always an Opportunist, although in the nobler sense of the term. He preserved silence, sometimes for years, upon questions with regard to which his mind was made up, and only spoke when the hour for useful speaking seemed to have arrived. This was not owing to lack of courage, for he was one of the most courageous of men, but to a sense of his public duty as a leader of the Church and nation.

Of all the Reformers, Zwingli was the most democratic, and his democratic leanings, fostered by a republican birth and education,

make another note of difference between him and his great contemporary. Luther loved the people, and laboured for their good, but it never occurred to him to elevate Herr Omnes to a position of rule in Church or State. Learned and godly men were in his judgment the only suitable guides for the Church. Zwingli, in theory at least, regarded the whole people as the fountain of civil and ecclesiastical power; and he was careful to explain that it was merely as organs and representatives of the people that the Council of Zurich introduced reforms. For the idea of the historical continuity of the Church, Zwingli had small sympathy. His desire was to restore the Church of the New Testament, and to permit the Mediæval Church, with all its fantastic memories, to disappear like a sick man's dream. His summary rejection of the Augustinian doctrine of imputation, although perhaps justified exegetically, was a further proof of his want of perception of historical continuity, and of his leaning towards a Christianity without mystery. It was, however, in his doctrine of the Sacraments that this tendency most fully revealed itself. The idea of sacramental grace had no place in Zwingli's system. As Dr Baur points out, baptism, according to his view, has a significance for others, rather than for the receiver: it is the mark by which other men recognised the Christian. The Lord's Supper is a memorial feast awaking holy memories, and quickening faith, but only in the same manner as the reading of Scripture. Baur, like Harnack, warmly espouses the view of Zwingli as against Luther, who in this matter, he writes, was unable to free himself from the trammels of his Mediæval education. The accidents of the controversy must not be allowed to obscure its real issues. Zwingli bore himself throughout with great moral dignity, and in the exegetical argument, he was the victor; for Luther's dogged appeal to the words *Hoc est corpus meum*, finds no support in the customary language of Scripture. Luther's mystical arguments regarding the body of the Risen Lord were of no weight, and nothing can excuse the stormy violence of his language regarding his opponents. The question cannot, however, be decided either by the logical superiority of Zwingli, or by the bad manners of Luther. The special work of the Reformation was to bring religion into harmony with reason, and with common life. The doctrine of the *Tremendum Mysterium* became a natural subject of attack. Luther was at first disposed to adopt the view of Carlstadt, because he perceived that it struck an effective blow at priestly power. Zwingli found, when he first broke silence on the subject, that his friends were already prepared to receive his doctrine, and he predicted that in a few years it would be universally accepted by believers of the Reformed faith. Erasmus expressed his admiration for Zwingli's fine exposition of the doctrine, although he said the *consensus* of the

ancient Church, in an opposite sense, made him hesitate. Baur regrets that Zwingli's doctrine did not triumph; Luther's, he maintains, checked the intellectual freedom and the moral fruitfulness of the German Reformation. Against this conclusion there are grave objections. It was a real danger at the time of the Reformation, that Religion, in being brought into contact with common life, might be converted into a mere instrument for giving sanction to moral duty. Its divine origin being thus ignored, it would speedily have lost its power to control and to inspire, and would have been ultimately dethroned in favour of utilitarian Morality. Against this danger—no chimera as the subsequent history of Protestantism shows—the Sacraments were the great bulwarks. They represent what does not come into consciousness, Regeneration and the *unio mystica*, and their neglect has always the tendency to weaken the sense of the divine claims of religion, and to impoverish the devout life. Luther, therefore, was guided by a true Christian instinct, when he protested against the teaching of the Swiss Reformer, although he employed bad arguments, made his protest with unbecoming violence, and displayed a great lack of charity to a noble-minded opponent.

Of Dr Baur's volumes we have said less than we ought. They will be invaluable to a student of Reformation thought, and will take their place as the standard authority on the theology of Zwingli.

JOHN GIBB.

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### The Principles of Ethics.

*By Herbert Spencer. Vol. I. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 562. Price 15s.*

MR SPENCER'S great work, "A System of Synthetic Philosophy," now approaches completion. Parts V. and VI. on "The Ethics of Social Life, Negative Beneficence," and "The Ethics of Social Life, Positive Beneficence," have yet to be written. But the gap between "The Data of Ethics," published in 1879, and "Justice," published in 1891, has now been filled up by the present work, or rather by the publication of Parts II. and III., which Mr Spencer calls "The Inductions of Ethics," and the "Ethics of Individual Life." "The Data of Ethics," which forms the first part of this volume, need not be noticed here. It has already been abundantly criticised, and has given rise to a good deal of controversy; and Mr Spencer has replied to his critics in *Mind* for January 1881, a reply printed as an appendix to the separate edition of "The Data of Ethics," but not reprinted in this volume.

Readers of Mr Spencer's works are familiar with the general scheme on which they are constructed. In his "Biology," in his "Psychology," in his "Sociology," and now also in his "Ethics," there is first a general section called "the Data," and this is invariably followed by a section called the "Inductions." It is not very clear why they have these titles. For the "Data" are very like the "Inductions," and both names are used in a somewhat unusual sense. But then we have to get accustomed to the Spencerian way, and make of it what we can. At the same time, it is somewhat inconvenient, for, after we have learnt Mr Spencer's language, and have got accustomed to his way, we find that the Spencerian words are often used in the sense they have in common use, and are made to justify conclusions which do not follow when they are restricted to the Spencerian meaning. For example, in ordinary treatises on Logic, "Induction" has a particular meaning, which is so well understood that we need not here explain it. When we read Mr Spencer's works we have to give a new meaning to "Induction." We have no longer to deal with masses of classified facts, and with the laws of their action, which we have been able inductively to discover and set forth. Instead of this, we have from Mr Spencer an abstract statement of what he conceives the "induction" to be. Take, for instance, the opening paragraph of the work before us. It runs thus—

"If, in common with other things, human feelings and ideas conform to the general law of evolution, the implication is that the set of conceptions constituting ethics, together with the associated sentiments, arise out of a relatively incoherent and indefinite consciousness; and slowly acquire coherence and definiteness at the same time that the aggregates of them differentiates from the larger aggregate with which it is originally mingled. Long remaining undistinguished, and then but vaguely discerned as something independent, ethics must be expected to acquire a distinct embodiment only when mental evolution has reached a high stage."—"Principles of Ethics," Vol. I., p. 307.

Evidently the general law of Evolution is here the main conception, and determines what the inductions are to be. Mr Spencer brings an "expectation" to the facts, and they must conform to his expectation. In every case in the volume before us, Mr Spencer seems to deduce his "induction" from the general law of evolution, and then looks out for facts to support the so-called induction. The facts are drawn from various sources, all apparently of equal value in Mr Spencer's eyes. Books of travels, daily newspapers, ancient literature—in fact, any source from which he can get a statement which seems to support his view, is used in the most uncritical way. As to the uncritical way in which Mr Spencer



uses his authorities we may give the following illustrations. We take them because they are accessible to every one, and may be easily verified. "The truth which it specially concerns us to note is, that during states of hostility, which make aggression habitual, it acquires a social sanction, and in some cases a divine sanction; there is a pro-ethical sentiment enlisted on its behalf. Contrariwise, in the cases just referred to, aggressiveness meets with reprobation. An ethical sentiment, rightly so-called, produces repugnance to it. Nor was it otherwise with the Hebrews. After the chronic antagonisms of nomadic life had been brought to an end by their captivity, and after their subsequent wars of conquest had ended in a comparatively peaceful state, the expression of altruistic sentiments became marked, until in *Leviticus* we see emerging the principle, often regarded as exclusively Christian—'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,'—a principle, however, which appears to have been limited to 'the congregation of the children of Israel'" (pp. 349-50). We have tried hard to understand what Mr Spencer means in the foregoing sentence. Does he mean that the chronic antagonisms of nomadic life continued until the captivity? and does he mean that the wars of conquest are subsequent to the captivity? In any event, he has misread his authority.

But a graver misuse of authorities occurs in the chapter on Veracity. We quote the paragraph as a curiosity—

"We have proof in the Bible that, apart from the lying which constituted false witness, and was to the injury of a neighbour, there was among the Hebrews but little reprobation of lying. Indeed, it would be remarkable were it otherwise, considering that Jehovah set the example, as when, to ruin Ahab, He commissioned 'a lying spirit' to deceive His prophets; or as when, according to Ezekiel xiv. 9, He threatened to use deception as a means of vengeance—'If the prophet be deceived when he speaketh a thing, I the Lord have deceived that prophet, and I will stretch out My hand upon him, and will destroy him in the midst of My people Israel.' Evidently, from a race-character which evolved such a conception of a deity's principles, there naturally comes no great regard for veracity. This we see in sundry cases, as when Isaac said Rebecca was not his wife but his sister, and nevertheless received the same year a bountiful harvest—'the Lord blessed him;' or as when Rebecca induced Jacob to tell a lie to his father and defraud Esau—a lie not condemned, but shortly followed by a divine promise of prosperity; or as when Jeremiah tells a falsehood at the king's suggestion. Nor do we find the standard much changed in the days of Christ and after. Instance the case of Paul, who, apparently, rather piquing himself on his 'craft and guile,' elsewhere defends his acts by contending that 'the truth of

God hath more abounded through my lie unto his glory' (Romans iii. 7)."

It is not necessary to say much on this paragraph, in which Mr Spencer misunderstands and misrepresents his authorities. He ascribes to Paul a statement which the Apostle repudiates with energy and indignation, and which he states only to refute. If the statement about Jeremiah refers to his interview with Zedekiah, recorded in Jeremiah, chap. xxxviii., then a reference to Jer. xxxvii. 20 will prove that the prophet told the truth in his report to the princes. If Mr Spencer will read the context of the texts in Ezekiel and 1 Kings to which he refers, he will find that the enticement or deception was in punishment for previous sin; while the narrative in Genesis shows that both Isaac and Jacob did suffer for the falsehoods which they told or acted. Veracity enjoins that a man should understand his authorities and not misrepresent them. We are constrained to say this in addition, If Mr Spencer uses such accessible authorities as the Bible in this fashion, may he not use authorities not so accessible in a similar way?

Passing, however, from his use of authorities we ask, What has he accomplished in this instalment of his work? He has done one work for which we are very thankful. He has set forth with great clearness and power the radical inconsistency between the ethical code which Christian lands profess to believe, and the ethical code on which they seem to act. While they profess the ethics of amity, they act on the ethics of enmity. The accusation is made good, and the charge is too true. If Mr Spencer's attack will help to awaken the churches and the nations to a sense of their inconsistency, and help to cause them to resolve that they shall henceforth, both in profession and in practice, obey the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount, he will have done good service. For, somehow, the commands of Christ have been regarded as mere "counsels of perfection," and the ethics of mere self-assertion have ruled far too long and absolutely in Church and State. It is time to try the more excellent way, and Mr Spencer's chapter on the confusion of ethical thought ought to make the issue clear.

Apart from this, however, we do not think that Mr Spencer's conclusions will be accepted by students of ethics, either with regard to the ethical end, or with regard to the ethical sanction of conduct. The ethical end, according to his teaching, is pleasure. "From the point of view of absolute ethics, actions are right only when, besides being conducive to the future happiness of self, or others, or both, they are also immediately pleasurable" (p. 487). "No school can avoid taking for the ultimate moral aim a desirable state of feeling—called by whatever name—gratification, enjoyment, happiness. Pleasure somewhere, at some time, to some being or beings, is an

inexpugnable element of the conception. It is as much a necessary form of moral intuition as space is a form of intellectual intuition" (p. 46). With varied iteration, Mr Spencer insists that the ethical end is a desirable state of feeling, and we might concede the truth of his contention if man were a sentient being and nothing more. But man is more than feeling; and while man thinks and reasons, and can look before and after, the end of his conduct can never be a mere state of feeling. Every object of desire must, for a rational being, have in it a rational element, and must be such an object as can satisfy his whole nature. Pleasure, as the ethical end, is set aside when we recognise that man is more than feeling.

But the ethics of Mr Spencer is even more unsatisfactory when we have regard to the test of right conduct which he advocates. He contends that an action is right when it produces or tends to produce a desirable state of feeling. From which it would follow that there is an absolute coincidence between virtue and happiness. But all kinds of Hedonistic ethics declare, to use the language of Mr Leslie Stephen, that "the attempt to establish an absolute coincidence between virtue and happiness is in ethics what the attempt to square the circle or to discover perpetual motion is in geometry and mechanics" (*"Science of Ethics,"* p. 430). Unless we can establish such an absolute coincidence between virtue and happiness, we must abandon the Hedonistic basis of ethics, and endeavour to find a more secure foundation. When virtue and happiness fall apart, clearly we must have another test of the rightness of conduct than pleasure and pain.

Why should I do right? What is the meaning of obligation? What is the explanation of the coerciveness of duty? Mr Spencer uses the words "right," "obligation," "duty," and sometimes in his own sense and sometimes in the ordinary sense, but he has his own explanation of their origin, progress, and decay. They have arisen from external pressure, they are transformed as the mental capacity to foresee the future has grown, and they will vanish when mankind has been completely moralised. Here is his description of the moral consciousness: "The true moral consciousness which we name conscience, does not refer to those extrinsic results of conduct which take the shape of praise or blame, reward or punishment externally awarded, but it refers to the intrinsic results of conduct, which, in part, and by some intellectually perceived, are mainly and of most intuitively felt. The moral consciousness proper does not contemplate obligations as artificially imposed by an external power, nor is it chiefly occupied with estimates of the amounts of pleasure and pain which given actions may produce, though these may be dimly or clearly perceived; but it is chiefly occupied with recognition of,

and regard for those conditions by fulfilment of which happiness is achieved or misery avoided" (p. 337, 338).

There is nothing more curious in the history of speculation than the various estimates of mind presented in the different works of Mr Spencer. At one time the mind becomes a series of successive states of consciousness; and at the next moment mind is able to look at its conscious life as a whole to such an extent that it can balance what is immediately present with what is yet to come. At one time the self is nothing but a series of states of consciousness, at another time the self can have "regard for those conditions by fulfilment of which happiness is achieved and misery avoided." The natural history of the self is most curious. According to Mr Spencer, it is first the narrow self of an organism, which is occupied with that continuous adjustment of acts to ends which serves to prolong and intensify its own individual life. Somehow this self gets transformed, becomes a self which has regard to the life of the species. Still another transformation takes place, and the self somehow becomes a self which avoids doing injury to others, and acts so as to promote the good of others. How a self which starts with acts of self-preservation can become a self which acts for the good of others Mr Spencer does not explain, nor does he in the slightest degree explain how such a self feels bound to act for the good of others. For the self is in the hands of natural forces, and acts as it is acted on. A merely natural history of ethics is impossible, unless we suppose that there is in the self something more than the reaction against natural forces; unless we can regard the self as something which can set itself over against natural laws, and can regulate and modify their action, we can never come to a right understanding of the great conception of duty. We can explain "duty" if we can assume that we can form an ideal of what our life ought to be, and adjust our conduct to that end. But, by the teaching of Mr Spencer, the self becomes a thing beside other things, and the sense of duty is a weakness, not a strength; something which emerges in the conflict and struggle of existence, is of value only while matters are in a transition state, and vanishes when the adjustment becomes complete.

Very striking is the hopefulness of Mr Spencer. For instance—"A life of settled internal amity generates a code inculcating the virtues conducing to harmonious co-operation—justice, honesty, veracity—regard for others' claims. And the implication is, that if the life of internal amity continues unbroken from generation to generation, there must result not only the appropriate code, but the appropriate moral nature—a moral sense adapted to the moral requirements. Men so constituted will acquire to the degree needful for complete guidance, that innate conscience which the in-

tuitive moralists erroneously suppose to be possessed by mankind at large. There needs but a continuance of absolute peace externally, and a rigorous insistence on non-aggression internally, to ensure the moulding of man into a form naturally characterised by all the virtues" (p. 471).

It is a marvellous passage. Get the appropriate machinery for the manufacture of intuitions, and the intuitions will follow. But Mr Spencer has not yet presented us with a manufactured intuition, nor shown how the process can go on. Nor has he produced any evidence for his contention that industrialism is more productive of the other-regarding virtues than a state of war is. For both in war and in commerce the spirit of competition reigns; and commerce, which goes forth with the motto, "Buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market," has magnified self-interest, and serves it in the highest degree. How came Mr Spencer to have a belief of this kind, a belief which he enunciates with all the earnestness and enthusiasm of a prophet? Well; the belief was universal when Mr Spencer was a young man. It was proclaimed from every platform in the kingdom by Mr Cobden, it was set forth with royal pomp and splendour at the Exhibition of 1851. Given peace and free trade and open commerce among all the nations of the earth, and we shall "ensure the moulding of man into a form characterised by all the virtues." Great as Mr Spencer is, and wide as his outlook over all the phenomena of evolution, we see that one of his fundamental beliefs has been wrought in him by the accidental phenomena of the time when he was a young man, and has persisted notwithstanding all the adverse phenomena of succeeding years.

We fear that the evils which afflict humanity are not so easily cured, nor can man be so easily "moulded into a form naturally characterised by all the virtues." Mr Spencer does not make any demand on an extramundane source for the evolution of human life, or for the guidance of human conduct. If, under the influence of religion, it has happened that men have risen to purity of life, and to virtuous conduct, Mr Spencer says, "the prompting was an other-worldly one more than an intrinsically moral one." The other-worldly motive may foster the moral motive, but is in itself non-moral. We know from the previous works of Mr Spencer what his view of religion is. Founded on the baseless ghost-theory of the savage, fed by the illusion of men throughout all the ages, religion has, according to Mr Spencer, not much ethical value; at all events, conduct must have regard to intrinsic results alone. But what if there is a God? and what if man shall live after death? If man is immortal, and if there is a life beyond death, does not this fact, or a firm belief in the future life, become one of the *conditions* which man must

regard? Can a system of ethics be adequate which takes no account of man's relations to God, or to a future life? If there be a God, our relation to Him is as much a moral relation as any other in which we stand; if there is a life beyond the grave, then a regard to that life becomes a condition by fulfilment of which happiness is achieved and misery avoided, and, on Mr Spencer's own principles, an other-worldly motive becomes an intrinsically moral one.

We have, therefore, to say in conclusion, that the ethical system of Mr Spencer presents us with a false and inadequate ethical end, and a misleading ethical motive; affords no adequate explanation of such moral phenomena as obligation, duty, responsibility; holds up before us an ethical ideal of a most inadequate kind; and thrusts out of account altogether a large mass of ethical phenomena which any adequate system of ethics is bound to deal with.

JAMES IVERACH.

### **Eine vorcanonische Überlieferung des Lukas, in Evangelium und Apostelgeschichte.**

*Eine Untersuchung von Dr Paul Feine, Ord. Lehrer am Königl. Gymnasium zu Göttingen. Gotha: F. A. Perthes. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Svo, pp. x. 252. Price M. 4.*

CRITICISM is treating us liberally in the matter of *Urevangelia*, which bid fair to raise the ghosts of St Luke's "many" predecessors with perplexing success. The present investigation attacks the questions raised by the material peculiar to the Third Gospel. Accepting the view that "Luke" is a Gentile Christian imbued with the teaching of St Paul, Dr Feine argues that in large portions of his Gospel, and most of the first twelve chapters of the Acts, he depends on a written authority not traceable elsewhere, proceeding from the Christian circle in Jerusalem, and dating in its latest form from the beginning of the Jewish War. Feine's standpoint is that of a cordial believer in miracle, which—in opposition to the subtle analysts whom he uses or attacks in every page—he does not consider to be a sufficient ground for condemning beforehand a passage brought up for judgment at the bar of literary criticism. At the same time, he treats the text freely, pointing out Luke's mistakes in using his material, and distributing with more or less confidence the portions assignable to the original documents or to the canonical writer. There is of course a great deal of subjectivity in all this, and most readers will find plenty to quarrel with in the details. But if it is settled that written documents,

and not oral tradition, are to be looked for as the sources of our Gospels in their main extent, Feine's hypothesis certainly deserves our respectful consideration. Perhaps, from every point of view except the author's, the hypothesis is all the more valuable because it can be very largely modified without losing its identity.

It is very difficult in a short review to do justice to a thesis depending so much on detailed criticism, and the sketch that follows cannot pretend to be more than partial. The author tells us in his preface that he started from the Acts (i.-xii.), which he examined in the *Jahrb. für Prot. Theol.* (vol. xvi. pp. 84-133); he now starts from the Gospel, the sources of which he distinguishes in his first chapter, mostly following Weiss. There are no less than four, the "Ur-Markus," the Synoptic *Grundschrift* (a development of the first-named), the *Logia* (in Greek; for the original Hebrew, Feine thinks, disappeared early), and the document before us, a later expansion of the *Logia*. The origin of this document is to be proved by applying our knowledge of Jewish life, thought, language, and conditions, which the Gentile Luke could not have known well enough to give us so natural and accurate a picture as we find in the parts of his work under review.

The next section, embracing a quarter of the whole book, is devoted to the proof of the thesis as it affects the Gospel. Chaps. i. and ii. naturally occupy much space in the argument. It is maintained that the detailed history of the Baptist's birth is natural only in a narrative circulating among Jewish Christians, that the conception of Messiah is throughout national, that the ideal of piety presented in the characters of the story is essentially Jewish, that numberless little traits of Jewish customs and thought are traceable in every line—one slip of the editor's being alleged in the *αὐτῶν* of ii. 22—and that Hebraisms of language abound to an extent impossible in a writer not born a Jew. The three hymns, we are told, are untouched by the editor: Simeon's universalism is merely that of the Prophets, and the Pauline Luke would not have seen the "glory" of Israel in the salvation of the Gentiles (Rom. xi. 11, 15). His hand is seen, however, in ii. 41-52, where the language is more Greek, though the contents show no trace of alteration. Holtzmann's contention that the Jewish Christians knew nothing of the supernatural birth of Jesus is well disposed of, as is Hillmann's attempt to reach the same goal by a different road. The difficult question of Joseph's relations to Nazareth and Bethlehem respectively is answered by adopting an interesting theory by Schneller, which space forbids our quoting. The treatment thus summarised will serve as a specimen of the writer's methods, which he applies successively to a number of passages peculiar to the Third Gospel, and to a few in which he

believes his *Quellenschrift* responsible for noteworthy differences from the other Synoptists. One or two questionable points may be noted. The fact that Peter was acquainted with Jesus and with His miraculous power surely need not condemn the episode of Luke v. 1-11 as unhistorical in its setting: the usual explanation is perfectly simple, and has the advantage of saving the canonical Luke from perpetrating an exceedingly obvious mistake. And is it worth while to build the slightest superstructure on such utter trifles as the mention of the *μέτοχοι ἐν τῷ ἐτέρῳ πλοίῳ* in v. 7 for the first time, without our being told who they were? In connection with the same passage Feine takes occasion to express his disbelief in a special Petrine element in the Second Gospel. His evidence is curiously like that usually cited to prove the opposite. Mark omits a number of notices in which Peter is prominent, while he does not endeavour to soften those in which the Apostle comes out badly. That we have here the signs of a humility which shrank from claiming an honourable prominence, but placed failings on record in order to "strengthen his brethren," is a conclusion Dr Feine would not seem to have heard of. In the Centurion's Servant, the undeniable—though hardly inexplicable—discrepancies of the narratives are most unnecessarily increased by the assumption that Matthew's *παῖς* is to be taken as "son," and by the endeavour to find in John iv. 43-54 another version of the same event. On the other hand, the allegorising eccentricities of Holtzmann are quoted to be condemned for "allzu viel Scharfsinn:" one might almost suspect the author of a desire to lighten his sober pages at the expense of a scholar certainly not overgifted with a sense of humour. The section closes with an examination of the Passion narrative, devoted mainly to the recounting of differences from the other Synoptists attributable to Luke's special authority, which John is shown to have used to some extent also. I am inclined to suggest that Dr Feine's theory may help us to explain some of the well-known problems of text which meet us in this part of the Gospel: I refer to the passages enclosed in double brackets by Westcott and Hort. For some of these ordinary interpolation may be assumed. For instance, Feine's assertion that in Luke xxiv. 50-53 the Ascension takes place on Easter Day itself is entirely upset by the removal of *καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν* from the text, into which it obtained entrance through the mistaken idea that the appearance of Ascension Day is described in the Gospel. (See W.-H. ii. App. p. 73.) And the *Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν* of xxiv. 36 may well be an interpolation from the Fourth Gospel, instead of a point of contact. But the obviously authentic passages, xxii. 19, 20; 43, 44; xxiii. 34, may very probably owe their peculiar position to absence from the *Quellenschrift*, supposing it to have circulated for a time together with the canonical



work which superseded it. These passages are such as St Luke himself might well have added from the oral traditions to which he had access. The first is St Paul's account of the institution of the Eucharist, scarcely altered; the second has no marked Hebraisms, and connects itself with St Luke's own part of the Acts by the word *ἐκτενέστερον* (cf. Acts xxvi. 7); of the third much the same may be said, it being noted that a strongly Hebraic passage immediately follows. Of course, the same cause may account for other interpolations which internal evidence strongly attests, such as ix. 55.

Feine next applies himself to the parables and discourses which are, in his opinion, taken from, or influenced by, the hypothetical document. He remarks on the difference between the types of parable peculiar to the First and the Third Gospel respectively, and observes that the abundance of local colouring required by Luke's parables of human life could never have been accurately put in by a Gentile narrator. Selecting as before a few noticeable points in the chapter, we can hardly pass without protest the statement that Matthew probably did not know the parable of the Unjust Steward, since he does not record it. Is this to be soberly applied as a principle to guide our criticism of the Gospels? The only conceivable standpoint to justify such a canon would be that of critics dating the Gospels too late for living memory of the words and deeds of Jesus: an apostle, or any member of the community which knew the Lord, could not write at all without selecting only a small proportion of the material stored in his mind. If I understand Dr Feine aright, he would place the compilation of the canonical Synoptists much too early for such memories to have died out. In connection with two or three of the Lucan parables, our author treats the doctrine of wealth and poverty as a characteristic note of the poor community of Christians at Jerusalem, who would be likely, he thinks, to retain in thankful memory the blessings of Jesus bestowed on poverty, and the woes denounced against wealth. The point is perhaps overstrained—notably in the assertion that Dives is condemned simply because he was *dives*,—but, apart from such exaggerations, there seems probability in it. In the same parable Feine believes that the *Quellenschrift* named the beggar Lazarus in reference to the history of Lazarus of Bethany. Judging from his later protest on the parable and the miracle of the Barren Fig-tree, he would repudiate the assumption that the miracle here was a materialisation of the parable.

The least satisfactory feature in Feine's method is the readiness with which he equates parables or narratives which can without the faintest improbability be kept distinct, and then treats their differences as variations from a more original norm. Surely it is *à priori*

a most natural and wise mode of teaching, deliberately to repeat what has been given before, in order that the intentional alterations may bring out complementary lessons. What reason is there in treating the Marriage of the King's Son and the Great Supper, the Talents and the Pounds, &c., as distorted versions of the same originals? Such treatment has a trick of revenging itself on its author, who inevitably parades the veriest trifles as discrepancies. We are to suppose that *three* servants come forward in Luke xix. 16-20, not because they are the minimum sufficient to bring out the lesson, but because three appear in Matthew! Dr Feine's exegetical instinct would be severely judged if it were all placed on a level with his remark that the second servant adds nothing essential to the parable.

The chapter on the characteristics of the document is naturally of preponderating importance. Premising that it must have contained both narrative and discourse, the author proceeds to give a general description of its contents. The order cannot be determined, though the canonical writer would seem to have re-arranged to some extent so as to keep divisions of his subject together. The summary of contents is given pp. 126 *sq.* From viii. 4 to ix. 50 Luke follows his "*Markusquelle*," but throughout the great section ix. 51 to xviii. 14 depends almost entirely on his own peculiar source, which he occasionally alters and adds to. The determination of these new passages is exceedingly subjective, as when the initial discourse of chap. x. is ascribed to the Evangelist because it implies a mission to the Gentiles. Feine suggests that his document probably assumed another document somewhat older, the Synoptic, and that it only went over the same ground in order to correct or supplement it. A very important argument for the Jewish-Christian origin of the document is found in its striking agreements with the Epistle of James. Yet more important are the links with the Fourth Gospel, which Feine believes due to the common use of his authority by Luke and John. There would seem to be a slip here in the comparison of Luke xxi. 37 *sq.* with John viii. 1 *sq.*:—Dr Feine hardly accepts the Pericopè as Johannine! Some characteristic ideas of the writing are next formulated:—it suggested nothing of a Christian mission to the Gentiles; it did not however confine salvation to Israel; and so on, mostly points which have often been recognised as notes of St Luke's Gospel. The discourses have come to Luke through a medium which alters more than that through which Matthew read them. A list of linguistic peculiarities preludes the statement that the document was in Greek. The proof is confined to the fact that the whole style is steeped in the language of the LXX., while one or two counter-arguments are briefly met. The date is next determined as the period 66 to

70 A.D. A later date is excluded by the entire absence of allusions to conditions born of the catastrophe. The mass of the matter was accumulated much earlier. The Greek collection of discourses was in existence before the year 60, for Feine sees no reason to question Papias's statement about Matthew's work. The Greek *Logia*, he believes, underlies both the First and the Third Gospel. But it was subject to continual accretions, one resultant of which is, as we noted before, the document here under investigation. A date for the final form of the Synoptic *Grundschrift* is found (with Weiss) in the parenthesis *ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοείτω* (Matt. xxiv. 15, Mark xiii. 14), which implies that the fulfilment of the prophecy had already begun. This *Grundschrift*, it is further alleged, is enlarged into the Gospel of Mark by the same processes which developed the Lucan document out of the *Logia*. The *place* of composition is shown to be Jerusalem, which of course adds to the proof that the whole extended process was complete before the fatal year 70 A.D.

A brief account must suffice for the remaining two-fifths of the book, which maintain the same propositions for the first part of the Acts, establish the historical worth of the work thus recovered, and show its connection with the Evangelic writing, which was composed during the same period in the midst of the same community. Acts i.-xii. is a picture of the primitive Christian congregation at Jerusalem, with the Apostle Peter as protagonist. The sequel is continuous with the former treatise, the apparent discrepancy as to the Forty Days being explained away in a manner which admits of improvement, as suggested above. In the discussion of the Pentecost narrative I should very strongly dissent from the assumption that the "tongues" of Acts ii. are essentially different from the phenomenon referred to in other places; and if this position is justifiable—and it is really very hard to see why so many scholars have yielded to its surface difficulties—the various editings and document-distinguishings become in the main superfluous. But here I suppose one must bow respectfully to the majority, albeit with a muttered reservation. I must confess myself very often unconvinced by the reasoning which Dr Feine employs to discriminate the several elements of the text. Even Weiss's authority does not make plain what was the insuperable difficulty in the assembling of the 3000 disciples in the Temple and at home. I do not gather from the Acts that they ever assembled all together in one house, or, for matter of that, in the Temple. Then in ii. 43, if the interpolation is omitted, the "wonders and signs" are done within the Christian community, so that the miracle of ch. iii. remains the first *public* sign. The Theudas problem is solved by assigning v. 36 to the canonical editor, who is supposed capable of a chronological muddle, which his immaculate contemporary (?) Josephus

must never on any account be suspected of perpetrating. The Choice of the Seven is assigned to Luke himself, on grounds whose ultra-imaginative character space forbids me to bring out. There follows a very elaborate dichotomy of Stephen's speech, and the narrative concerning him. The two motives in the speech are well analysed, but their presence does not make one speech into two, and the discrepancies alleged to help the division are very subtle and very trifling. Suffice it to say that one narrative does, the other does not, bring in Saul. We turn with satisfaction to the common-sense with which the author argues at the close that the proofs of connection between Stephen's death and his Lord's, demonstrate nothing more than that the events of the Passion were constantly in the martyr's heart, as in the hearts of numberless members of the noble army since his day. How strange it is, after all, that critics, otherwise sane, can be found to support any different conclusion!

This must serve for a sketch of the case made out for Acts i.-xii., a case which is rather disappointing when compared with the more cogent demonstration brought to bear on the Gospel. It cannot be said that the *necessary* use of a document here is in any way proved, for the conditions are perfectly fulfilled by oral intercourse between Luke and members of the Jerusalem Church, while arguments from the assumed "tendency" of the writer will go the way of their kind with a large proportion of readers. Still, Dr Feine's thesis remains not improbable, especially if disburdened of features which, after all, are not necessary to it. The chapter on the historical value of the *Quellenschrift* recognises its accuracy in its main features, and generally in its details. Feine can admit no trace of editing a narrative concerning Peter to produce an artificial parallelism with the history of Paul. And he cannot understand the development of the primitive Christian Church except on the assumption of a direct divine energy therein, which could not fail to evince itself in miracle. The chapter is mainly devoted to showing that on these assumptions the history is recommended to us by ordinary probability. Sometimes, in small points, this probability is not allowed, and we cannot help realising the uncertainty of a criterion which will be applied differently by every critic. When, for instance, the recorded communism is pronounced to have been impossible in the early Church, and the credibility of the historian's statement is so far invalidated, we confess to be unable to see why. But we must hasten to close a review which it has been difficult to bring into short compass. The last chapter need not detain us, proving by verbal parallels and other ordinary methods the continuity of the two original documents and their common parentage. Nothing need be added in summing up. It will be evident, from all that has been said already,

that Dr Feine's book is an able and careful investigation which will claim consideration from all who follow him in the fascinating but slippery paths of document-hunting in the New Testament.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

### Friedrich Nitzsch's Dogmatics.

*Lehrbuch der Evangelischen Dogmatik. Von Dr F. A. B. Nitzsch. Zweite Hälfte. Freiburg, 1892. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. The two halves together, 629 pp. 8vo, price 14s.*

FRIEDRICH NITZSCH's contribution to the *Collection of Theological Manuals*, now publishing at Freiburg, in Baden, well maintains the reputation of the series. It carries out conscientiously the expressed aim of the whole collection,—to provide independent but scientific handbooks of the kind most useful to the Protestant students of theology in the German Universities. The word Protestant is used deliberately, because, by Evangelical Dogmatics a German means Protestant as opposed to Romanist, and not, as Evangelical so often implies in English, Biblical as opposed to Ritualistic or Rationalistic. As such a book should be, it is full of facts as well as inferences, is clear in arrangement and style, and is readable. Not so brilliant as Holtzmann's *Introduction to the New Testament*, nor so suggestive as Harnack's *History of Doctrine*, in the same series, Nitzsch's *Dogmatics* is as full of facts as either, and is a much more suitable book for beginners. Certainly it lacks freshness. All recent German Dogmatics, alas, seem to be of the scholastic type, the product of industry rather than genius, and standing in much need of a new spiritual impulse. In one respect, however, Nitzsch occupies a place all its own. The statements concerning present opinion in Germany upon Religion, Revelation, Inspiration, the Person and Work of Christ, are the completest I know; indeed, the historical surveys of doctrine are admirably and compactly done.

Of course, a system of doctrine is beyond brief review. All a reviewer can hope to do, in the space at his disposal, is to give some clue to the method of treatment, and at the same time to state his general impressions upon the fulfilment of the plan laid down.

"Evangelical Christian Dogmatics is the scientific presentation and defence of the contents of the Evangelical Christian faith or consciousness in the forms of thought and expression of the present age." This is Nitzsch's governing definition. Thus the persons addressed by Dogmatics are "the intelligent amongst believers, or the believers amongst the intelligent." Nitzsch has no intention of

endeavouring to formulate a science of religion valid for man as man, but only of interpreting Christianity to the Christian. On the other hand, Dogmatics is regarded by Nitzsch as wider than Biblical Theology, for it attempts to translate Biblical doctrine into the "forms of thought and expression of the present age." In Nitzsch's view, further, there are various sources of religious knowledge which Dogmatics should draw on. The supreme source of doctrinal knowledge is, in his view, the Christian consciousness of the expositor. Still, continues Nitzsch, whilst the source is the Christian consciousness, the norm for Evangelical Dogmatics is the Biblical record of revelation, and at the same time, the religious kernel of the creeds of the Reformation. There are, that is to say, in Nitzsch's view, various sources of doctrinal knowledge—viz., the individual Christian consciousness, the several Protestant creeds as judged by the individual Christian consciousness, and the Bible as similarly judged. The Christian consciousness is the supreme *fons et judex* of theological truth. Of course, it is difficult to see how passage is made from this subjective source to knowledge that is objective; but this is but saying that Nitzsch has not shaken himself free from the dominant view of all recent German doctrinal systems.

Elaborating his system, Nitzsch starts then from the Christian consciousness, which declares, he thinks, as its fundamental position, that "Jesus Christ is, through the realisation of the Kingdom of God in humanity, the permanent mediator of salvation." From such a position it follows that Christianity, the realisation of the Kingdom of God, is, first, Religion; second, Revelation; third, Protestant. Nitzsch, therefore, divides his system into two parts, the first of which deals with the principles of Evangelical Dogmatics (*Die Dogmatische Principienlehre*). In this part are treated, first, Religion; second, Revelation; third, Protestantism.

But it also follows, thinks Nitzsch, from the fundamental position of the Christian consciousness, that Christianity, the realisation of the Kingdom of God, is concerned, first, with Man; second, with God; and third, with Christ. Therefore, in his second part, in his Special Dogmatics (*Specielle Dogmatik*), Nitzsch adopts the unusual order of treatment—first, Anthropology; second, Theology; and third, Christology. Under Anthropology, Nitzsch treats both the doctrines of Man and of Sin; under Theology, the Doctrines of God, of Angels, and of the Creation and Preservation of the World; and under Christology, not only the Doctrines of the Person and Work of Christ, but the Doctrines of the Appropriation of Salvation by Man, of the Church and its Sacraments, and of the Last Things.

It is to be feared that this latest German system of doctrine is too German, in its postulates and its atmosphere, to be of much use

to the English-speaking peoples. Their standpoints and needs and writers and development are, if not unknown, ignored. Oh, for the theology which is one, international, catholic, prophetic, and apostolic ! Still, this book of Nitzsch's is an excellent guide to the best German teaching on its subjects ; and even those who know these subjects well, may have something to learn from the succinct and careful statement of recent German opinion on the Philosophy of Religion.

ALFRED CAVE.

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### The Witness of Hermas to the Four Gospels.

*By C. Taylor, D.D., Master of St John's College, Cambridge.*  
*London: C. J. Clay & Sons, Cambridge University Press*  
*Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane. 8vo, pp. viii. 148. Price 7s. 6d.*

THIS book is not a deliberate apologetic monograph, written, so to say, expressly "to order," but the natural outcome of a more formal investigation into another subject. Its value is enhanced by the fact that it is not so much an ἔργον as a πᾶρεργον,—“an incidental result (as the author tells us) of a detailed study of the *Shepherd* in relation to the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, for the purpose of deciding which of the two writings borrowed from the other.” In the course of this comparison, as Dr Taylor was considering the words in the *Teaching*, “And your prayers, and your alms, and all that ye do, so do as ye have it in the Gospel of our Lord,” he was led to anticipate the discovery of the word *Gospel*, under some disguise, in the work of Hermas, and he found it in the form of ἀγγελία ἀγαθή, *good tidings*. This phrase, however, would in itself have told no tale ; but in the same paragraph of the *Shepherd* a very suggestive illustration occurs. The young, fair, gladsome form of the church, happy in the receipt of *good tidings*, is seen seated on a couch, “and the position is a firm one ; for the couch has *four feet*, and standeth firmly ; *for the world too is upheld by means of the four elements*.” It occurred at once to Dr Taylor to interpret this passage in the light of the doctrine of Irenæus that in the nature of things there could be neither more nor fewer than four true Gospels, because “when God had made all things compounded and fitted together, the form of the Gospel too must needs have been well compounded and compacted.” Dr Taylor felt persuaded that just as Irenæus thus inferred the tetrad of a complete Gospel from the tetrad of a complete universe, so Hermas also had previously the same idea in his mind when, in his chapter on the *good tidings*, he illustrated the four-footed couch, on which the church was so firmly set, by the fact that the world also was com-

pacted of four elements. And just as from Irenæus's "full, clear, and precise testimony" (to quote the words of Lightfoot) the case is irrefutably established that in his time there were four canonical Gospels, no fewer and no more, so also, as Dr Taylor contends, from Hermas the four Gospels are shown to have attained, in the metropolis of the empire, to their exclusive and canonical position a third of a century or more before Irenæus made his statement; while it is made apparent that, as Dr Taylor himself wrote in 1889, "Irenæus's analogies for the necessity of there being four Gospels must have been suggested by Hermas."

This is the thesis of the first and shortest and, as it seems to us, by far the strongest portion of the book. The argument in support of the thesis is well elaborated, and ancillary points are carefully brought into view. We are led on from seeing the Church, an aged woman (aged in the eternal purposes of God), sick and at the point of death (at the close of the old dispensation), sitting in an easy chair,—the same *καθέδρα* as occurs in the saying, "The scribes sit in Moses' seat." But she "vanisheth away"; and the chair is carried off to the east by four young men and is seen no more. In the next vision she appears standing, as if risen to life, and, save for her hair, less aged than before, reading a booklet wherein is a revelation not yet complete, and ordering six young men to build a tower,—that is, herself, the spiritual creation. In the third vision she is carried off to the tower, and is seen seated therein, young (but for her hair), joyous on account of the *good tidings*, resting on a bench which has four feet, and which has been carried to the tower by four young men. The revelation is now complete, and the bench is deposited in the tower as the permanent possession of the Church. With a fair show of reason, Dr Taylor asks:—If the chair is the seat of authority under the old dispensation, what can the new bench, which stands on four feet, signify but the fourfold gospel? This inference is confirmed by the structure of the tower. This is built four-square, is founded on four rows of stones, (the *στοῖχοι* recalling the *στοιχεῖα*, the four elements of the world), and "the numbers of the stones in the four rows are 10, 25, 35, and 40 respectively, of which the decades are expressed in Greek by the initials of John, Cephas, Luke, and Matthew (Cephas being the authority for Mark's Gospel)." The argument that Irenæus owes a debt to Hermas is supported by Eusebius's testimony that Irenæus knew and received the writing of the *Shepherd*, quoting it as Scripture. Furthermore, Irenæus appears to refer to the four rows of stones in his four pillars of the Church; and his "Son of God" seated upon the four cherubim, corresponding to the four Gospels, reminds Dr Taylor of the Church (which, as the Shepherd explains to Hermas, represents the Son



of God as the Holy Spirit) seated on the four-footed bench. From these and other instances the author argues that either Irenæus made use of Hermas, or both borrowed from a common source which could not have been later than Hermas ; and it is significant that the *Shepherd* was written not in a corner, but in the metropolis of the world. Nor does the intrinsic worthlessness of the cosmico-spiritual argument of Irenæus and Hermas, drawn from the Pythagorean doctrine of numbers, and of the *tetractys* as the reputed root of all things, affect the residuum of fact—that the argument was suggested by the actual existence of four canonical Gospels, no fewer and no more.

If Dr Taylor's line of reasoning on this point does not lead to absolute conviction, it makes his conclusion, at any rate, extremely probable, except, of course, for those who are content to regard the four feet of the couch as simply symbolical of firmness and completeness in the Church's foundation.

We have said that this portion of the argument, taking the existence and canonicity of the four Gospels a generation further back than Irenæus, is the strongest section of the book. Certainly the second part, dealing with Hermas's quotations from the Gospels, does not carry with it the same potency of persuasion. But we must not push the author beyond his own limitations. The second part is designed not to be by itself a proof that Hermas used the four Gospels for his literary purpose, but "to be taken with and as verifications of the antecedent general proof that he accepted them." Now Bishop Lightfoot, in his volume of replies to the work entitled *Supernatural Religion*, affirmed that "the *Shepherd* of Hermas is equally devoid of citations from the Old Testament and the New." Gebhardt and Harnack in 1877 conceded that "Hermas was not unacquainted with the history told in the Synoptic Gospels, but whether he had read those three Gospels or not, is by no means obvious." They so far agree with Köstlin and Zahn as to admit that there are clearer traces of Mark than of the other Synoptists ; but consider that these are insufficient to assure us that Hermas had access to the second Gospel. As to the fourth Gospel, Westcott, Keim and Zahn have contended that Hermas had read it, or, if not the Gospel, the Johannine Epistles ; and Hilgenfeld has admitted a certain close kinship of Hermas with the Gospel, and that not seldom ; but *nulla certa vestigia* is his dictum, as well as the dictum of Holtzmann, and of Dr Sanday in his *Gospels in the Second Century*. But, mingled with this judgment that there are "no sure traces," there is a tendency on the part of such critics to grant that traces are not to be absolutely scouted. Hence Dr Taylor can legitimately claim that his argument is "not opposed but supplementary to the reasoning which has led some writers on Hermas and the

Gospels to an opposite conclusion." He maintains that those whose motto is *nulla certa vestigia* have failed to take into account the saying of Hermas—"For the world also is compacted of four elements;" a saying which, if his interpretation be correct, should (he naturally thinks) create a predisposition to see in the *Shepherd* surer references to the four Gospels. If, on the other hand, the saying is believed merely to illustrate, by admitted cosmical analogy, the firmness and completeness of the foundation on which the Church reposes, the predisposition is absent, and the alleged references to the Gospels must be taken on their own merits. But, if it be granted that the four elements imply the four Gospels, Dr Taylor has yet to cope with another difficulty; not the lack of express citation (for that would be nothing in Hermas, who cites no writing expressly except *Eldad and Modat*), but the peculiar latency of the alleged references, and their dislocation. Dr Taylor takes this difficulty by the horns, asserting that Hermas, habitually and of set purpose, disguises his quotations; that his method is, in fact, one not of quotation, but of subtle, recondite allusion; that he culls a phrase here, a word there, a figure elsewhere, and lightly and deftly weaves them in among his materials. These are not Dr Taylor's actual words, but the words he used in dealing with Hermas and the *Didachè* come to the same thing: "Hermas allegorises, he disintegrates, he amalgamates. He plays upon the sense or varies the form of a saying, he repeats its words in fresh combinations or replaces them by synonyms, but he will not cite a passage simply and in its entirety." In his present work Dr Taylor seeks to prove this assertion by looking to the author's manner of citing the Old Testament, and also the Epistle of James, which is acknowledged to be one of his particular repertoires by all except those who put this Epistle into the second century; and even they are compelled to admit either that the one writer had seen the other, or that both works had been written under similar circumstances and amid similar surroundings. Our space forbids us to enter into this argument: we must be content to refer our readers to pages 26-29, and to say that Dr Taylor seems to make out a very fair case for this fundamental and indispensable presupposition. The subtlety of Hermas's references not unfrequently entails upon Dr Taylor the necessity of turning upon him a reflected light from other authors, such as Clement of Rome, Barnabas, Justin Martyr and Irenæus, and from other writings, such as the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, so that in this light he may disclose references which would otherwise be too shadowy for clear illustrations. It is in the light of Irenæus, as we have seen, that he interprets Hermas's *four elements* as analogical to the four Gospels, and ἀγγελία ἀγαθή as equivalent to εὐαγγέλια. In the light of the *Teaching* he shows

how the "broken bread scattered in *grains* upon the mountains, and afterwards becoming one (the Church in its unity)," is changed by Hermas into *stones* scattered upon the twelve mountains (representing all the nations of the world, see page 26, and Isaiah ii. 2), and afterwards brought together into one jointless tower, the Church; and hence he is able to justify with considerable plausibility the references in Hermas to the phraseology of the parable of the *Sower*, though seeds are replaced by stones (page 40). In the light of Irenæus, the Sibylline Oracles and Hippolytus, he uncovers a reference in Hermas to the "many mansions" of the Father in the fourth Gospel (pages 120-126). Sometimes, as it appears to us, this method is pushed to an extreme, as when the ἐκπέτασις, "the outspreading," the sign of the Cross in the *Teaching*, is found to be reproduced in Hermas in the extension of the dragon upon the ground (ἐκτείνει εἰαυτὸ χαμαί), after it had *uplifted* itself like *dust* (compare the serpent of Eve) in vain assumption to heaven, but had fallen prostrate as the Shepherd unflinchingly drew near it "in the faith of the Lord." This is offered as a characteristic allusion to John iii. 14, "as Moses *lifted up the serpent* in the wilderness" (page 83). And so it is, we must presume to say, with not a few of the passages in which the author allows himself to detect echoes and references: even with the help of his pre-suppositions, the four elements and the habit of disguise, he does not in these cases convince us or even persuade us of probability. In not a few instances, indeed, it is quite otherwise. We are inclined to agree with him that Peter's confession may be referred to (perhaps in a way inconsistent with true exegesis) when Christ is made the rock on which the tower (the Church) is built (page 37), the Twelve Virgins (elsewhere representing the Holy Ghost, page 56) who have power to carry the only fit stones through the gate, being the Twelve Apostles, endowed with the Holy Spirit (page 39), and having the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Tempting likewise is the parallel between the *gate* (the Son of God) which "glistered more than the sun" (ἐστὶ λῖβεν ὑπὲρ τὸν ἥλιον) and the "glistening" of Christ's garments at the Transfiguration, στῖλβω being used in that place also (Mark ix. 3), and there alone in the New Testament, while the "shining *as the sun*" is found in Matthew's account (xvii. 2). We are drawn also towards the connexion between the words in Hermas "[Hermas] praying, the heaven was opened," and the same words (with a different construction) in Luke iii. 21; the "beloved son," which occurs in the following verse of Luke, appearing in Hermas (Sim. v.) as the Son of the owner of the field (which is "the world," p. 44). Nor can it be denied that when the Shepherd is made to take Hermas to an Arcadian mountain top, and show him a great plain surrounded by

twelve mountains, which represent all the nations of the world (p. 36), there is a probable reminiscence of the temptation of our Lord. Echoes of the fourth Gospel also are reasonably discerned in the use of ἀληθινός, ἔργα θεοῦ, ἐρωτᾶν for "praying" to God (as John alone uses it), and λέντιον, the extremely rare word for a *girding cloth*, found neither in classical Greek nor in the Septuagint, and employed by John alone within the borders of the sacred writings. Other words and phrases such as "Believe the works," "Witnessing a witness," seem to claim a reference to the same Gospel. And the contexts in which some of these verbal echoes are found, remind us also, now and then, of John. Thus the context in Hermas of the Johannine λέντιον brings before us John xx. 5, which reads: "Stooping and looking in, he seeth the linen cloths *lying*, yet entered he not in. Simon Peter therefore also cometh . . . and beholdeth the linen clothes *lying*, and the napkin not *lying* with the linen cloths." Compare now what Hermas says when he is awaiting the apparition of the Church (Vis. iii. 1. 4, 5): "I see an ivory bench *lying*, and upon the bench was *lying* a linen bolster, and over it a linen towel (λέντιον). Seeing these *lying*, and no one in the place, I became affrighted." Λέντιον indeed is not used in its own Johannine setting (Jesus "took a towel and girded himself"); but in Sim. viii. 4, 1 of Hermas (according to the accepted reading), "Gird thyself and serve me" recalls to us not only the action of Jesus when he washed his disciples' feet, but also Luke xvii. 8, where the same Greek words are used. More distinct employment of Johannine words and ideas (in the usual disguised, yet discoverable, way) can be found, for example, in the case of the great willow covering hills and mountains, its *branches* representing the spiritual status of the people sheltered by it, some flourishing, some dry. This reminds us, first, of the vine of Psalm lxxx, 8-10. ["The vine] filled the land. The hills were covered with the shadow of it:" it reminds us, next, of the vine and the branches in the fourth Gospel, especially as, according to Hermas, the willow is the Son of God preached to the ends of the earth. Again, the angel of repentance in Hermas, after promising that the Twelve Virgins (*i.e.*, the Holy Spirit) shall dwell with Hermas in order that he may learn all things and keep the commandments (pages 131, 132), goes away with the Shepherd and the Virgins, but promises to send them back again to abide in Hermas's house, and not depart from it. Here we have Jesus and the "other Comforter" (John xiv. 16), and the combination of "I am with you alway" with "I will send you another Comforter."

But with many of Dr Taylor's hidden references there is a sense of overstrainedness, so that they do not appear to furnish material even for cumulative argument. Thus εὐχρηστος, "of good use," is, in one passage, made to be a trace of Christ as "the Life," through

the early corruption of *Christus* into *Chrestus*, the subsequent clause running, "and serviceable unto the *life*;" and the scourge (*φραγέλλιον*), used by Christ in John ii. 15, is regarded as referred to in the scourge (*μάστιξις*) of the angel of retribution (Sim. vi. 2, 5), and in the plagues (*μάστιγας*) upon the double minded; while Dr Taylor thinks he sees in Hermas's phrase about "the new sound garment sent to the *fuller* and returned rent" (part of an exhortation to unity and peace of spirit), a reference not only to the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, but also, through the *fuller*, to the only place where this word is found in the New Testament, and where it is said that no "fuller on earth" could have so "whitened" the glistening garments of Jesus.

Opinions will undoubtedly vary as to the strength and weakness of the various textual props by which Dr Taylor seeks to support his argument. The sum of the whole matter seems to be this: the judgment upon the instances will depend on the prejudgment of the reader, the predisposition (not hastily to be condemned) to see, in the passages collected, "disguised references" to the Gospels. A mind entirely detached may still find other, and, in some cases, better explanations for the parallelisms. But, in our opinion, there is decidedly something to take account of in Dr Taylor's contentions; at any rate, he has made an interesting and suggestive contribution to the study of the subject, and for this he deserves our hearty thanks. The printer and publisher should also have a word of commendation for the beautiful workmanship which makes the book so pleasant to read and to handle.

JOHN MASSIE.

### **Beiträge zur Organisation und Competenz der Päpstlichen Ketzergerichte.**

*Von Dr Henner. Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xii., 383. Price M. 8.30.*

THE object of this volume is not to furnish a general history of the inquisition from its first existence as an episcopal court through its subsequent development into a separate papal tribunal, or to trace the doings and fate of the inquisition in the several countries where it was established, but to give an account of a definite period in its annals; namely, the epoch from 1227 to 1590, when the jurisdiction over heretics, which had been for a long time virtually in the hands of papal legates, was once for all withdrawn from the episcopate, transferred to the Holy See, and constituted in a form, which, though modified and expanded by councils and subsequent popes, has continued in the main unaltered. Dr Henner enters with great

minuteness into all questions connected with the organism and legal capacity of the Pontifical judicature, and having made good use of the mass of literature bearing directly, and the collateral sources of information touching indirectly, on the "Holy Office," has produced a book full of interest. As a jurist, he treats his subject from the forensic point of view, dwelling chiefly on the legal character of the procedure of the inquisition, with the object of furnishing materials for a comparison with the lay administration of justice of the day. For a knowledge of the relation and interaction of canonical and civil law is indispensable in order to arrive at a right understanding and estimate of the nature and history of the inquisition. The book is written throughout in a calm impassive tone, with nothing to offend the most rigid of Protestants or the most bigoted of Ultramontanes.

In the first part of the book Dr Henner details the composition of the court, known under the appellation of "*Inquisitio hæreticæ pravitatis*." The principal officials were the inquisitors and the notary; among the minor officers were the assessors, the *crucesignati*, the jailors, the torturers, &c. The inquisitors, who also went by other names (*defensores fidei et ecclesiæ*, *summi fidei quæsitores*, &c.), presided over the deliberations. In general three were required to form a quorum, but the author quotes several authorities and cases to show that there was no legally fixed number, and that it was left dependent on circumstances. The qualifications for the office were: descent from parents that had never been suspected of heresy (omitted by Dr Henner), a knowledge of theology and of jurisprudence, a circumspect, discreet mind, a certain amount of craft, after the Apostolic model, as set forth in 2 Cor. xii. 16, "*Cum essem astutus dolo vos cepi*," and purity of life. The possession of holy orders, at all events of the diaconate, was taken for granted, and the age of admission was set down at forty, at which time of life man is supposed to be no longer swayed by impulse and passion, but to have become a rational creature. The conduct of the trial was regulated by rules laid down in papal bulls, decretals, edicts, propositions, and the resolutions of œcumenical as well as local councils, which had gradually grown into a code; but on many occasions the judge had to be guided by precedent and usage, and at all times a good deal was left to his individual discretion. A veritable storehouse of information on the laws enacted by ecclesiastical authority is to be found in the third part of Eymericus' "*Directorium Inquisitionum*," edited, with a commentary added to it, by Peyna. It is almost needless to add that the inquisitorial function was held in the very highest honour. Those were the days when the Papacy had reached its zenith of power, and the Head of the Church ruled supreme over bishops and church councils. The inquisitor, though

not necessarily nominated by the Head of the Church, derived his authority direct from the Pope, and was considered as his delegate, in token of which he was addressed by the title of "reverendissimus," and ranked, as a matter of fact, above the bishop. In support of his dignity, even the Holy Scriptures were appealed to: Christ was alleged to have given His sanction to the institution in the words: "pasce oves meas," and God Himself in pronouncing judgment on our first parents was held up as the Arch-inquisitor. The emoluments attached to the position, though somewhat uncertain, were probably considerable, and the holder of the office was entitled to very substantial privileges. He was not under the control of the ordinary ecclesiastical authorities, being directly accountable to the Pope; he was granted a full indulgence for life; his person and possessions were regarded as inviolable; he was under the immediate protection of the government of the country which permitted him to bear arms; and last, but not least, he was exempt from taxation, and enabled to get provisions at a price fixed by himself. The notary, who came next in importance, practised at first as well in secular as in spiritual courts, but in the end a special officer was appointed who had to confine himself to ecclesiastical business. His duty was to act as reporter: to take notes of the evidence, and to observe any suspicious appearances presented by the witnesses or by the accused brought up for trial. The rough draft, containing the interrogatories and answers, was then drawn up into a protocol, which in most cases owed more to the imagination and partisanship of the writer than to the facts of which it was the professed record. It also lay within the notary's province to make an inventory of the property of those that had been condemned, and to keep the "*libri penitentialium*," in which a register was kept of the fines imposed upon heretics. Among the functionaries of less note, the only ones that call for remark are the *familiares*, or *crucesignati* (on account of the red cross which they wore on their upper garment). They formed a kind of spiritual police, and were bound by a sacred vow to hunt up all heretics, to bring them to trial, and to guard the inquisitors, whenever the necessity arose. Most of the business of the Holy Office was transacted in secret. The private examinations took place in any convenient location; frequently (no doubt for the prisoner's encouragement) in the room adjoining the torture chamber. The sentence was always given in public, and the spot selected for its deliverance was generally a church, for though "*ecclesia abhorret a sanguine*," the inquisitor was of course bound to be the mouthpiece of the secular judge. The choice of the locality for holding the sessions was left to the magistrate, who generally had special reasons for preferring one district to another. Causes might be heard at any

time (long vacations were then unknown), but the favourite days for the execution of heretics were Sundays and Saints' days, thus acting on the adage, "The better day, the better deed," and providing for the faithful a spectacle, combining the maximum of amusement with the greatest possible amount of edification.

In the second section of this academical treatise Dr Henner deals with the competency of the papal courts. The reader will find here a full discussion of the position held by the inquisitor with regard to the pope, the church council, and the bishop. In respect to the last named the testimony adduced shows pretty clearly that the judicial powers which in former days had been vested in the bishops, and rigorously exercised since the fourth century, were never formally taken from them. Their authority was indeed recognised by several of the popes and councils, and to avoid the possibility of friction between them and the papal legates, repeated attempts were made to establish a *modus vivendi* on the basis of co-operation. But in process of time, from causes which are easily understood, the pope's commissioner gained the upper hand, and the bishops lost all but a mere nominal influence, in the same way as they were gradually shorn of their episcopal autonomy.

Some interesting remarks occur under the heading of "Sachliche Zuständigkeit der Ketzergerichte." The term heterodoxy (originally the papal inquisition had been instituted for the persecution of the Albigenses, Waldenses, and those that refused to subscribe to the Church's dogmas), vague and elastic as it was, and admitting of an extended application, was not deemed sufficiently comprehensive to include all that might in any way incur the displeasure of the hierarchy. The word was therefore interpreted in a sense which brought within its meaning everything that by the wildest stretch of imagination could be said to militate against the teaching and the interests of the Church. Indictable offences were not merely spiritual delinquencies, such as actual or suspected heresy, apostacy and schism, blasphemy, improper use of the sacraments, shielding a heretic, but also indiscretions, using contemptuous expressions about the clergy, harbouring heretical books, and malpractices, *e.g.*, taking usury, indulging in magic, astrology, witchcraft (the credit of having instituted the prosecution against witches belongs to Innocent VIII.), and the many enchantments and evil devices which were taken as indications of an alliance with the evil one. Hoffmann counts 450 heresies, and quotes the saying "that if St Peter and St Paul had been living they would undoubtedly have been brought before the inquisition."

A dozen pages or so are devoted to the topic of the "Inquisition, and the secular powers." The principle on which the Church acted was: "what is yours is mine; what is mine is my own." The



Church being independent of the State could not tolerate any interference in matters spiritual; at the same time its legislation being superior to that of human lawgivers, and having received paramount authority over the world, it demanded that the laws of the realm should, if necessary, be brought into conformity with ecclesiastical law, that matters spiritual should take precedence of affairs temporal, and that the State should yield implicit obedience to its behests. Dr Henner does not travel beyond the theory of his subject; the observer is chiefly concerned in watching the working of the system, which varied in different countries according to time and circumstances. In the north of Europe and in England the papal inquisition never took root, in the south it flourished and was eradicated with difficulty. In some lands its introduction and proceedings met with violent opposition on the part of peoples and parliaments; in others princes smiled on it and upheld it to the utmost. In Spain, where, under the bloody Torquemada, it was seen in its fullest development, it was as much a creation of an autocratic king as of a despotic Church.

A. SCHWARTZ.

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**Texte und Untersuchungen, von O. von Gebhardt u.  
Ad. Harnack.**

*Bd. viii. Heft 4. Die griechische Uebersetzung des Apologeticus Tertullians.—Medicinisches aus der ältesten Kirchengeschichte.—Zwei Abhandlungen von Adolf Harnack. Leipzig: Hinrichs. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. iii. 152. Price M. 5.*

YET again it is Prof. Harnack himself who contributes a new part to his series bearing upon the history of "Ancient Christian Literature." And who but he can throw off, as it were, from his marvellously equipped workshop, such monographs, concentrating as they do even upon special points the whole wealth of information so far available? Indeed, only one who works with such ease and rapidity could venture to discuss with such fulness matters at first sight lying so far off the main track of Church History as those treated in the present instalment.

The title of the first and shorter discussion is *The Greek Version of Tertullian's Apologeticus*; and the line of thought is as follows:—To judge from the libraries at Caesarea and Jerusalem, assumed as known through Eusebius' use of them, we are struck by the dearth of Latin Christian literature in the East at the beginning of the fourth century. Eusebius himself, great scholar as he was, was just capable at a pinch of translating extracts for his History. He

tells us, however, of a complete version of Tertullian's Apology, which he used more than once. Till recently this was to us a unique fact, serving only to suggest the comparative wealth of the Greek, as contrasted with the Latin Christians, whose one known masterpiece deemed worthy of translation was the great African Apology. But now we possess early Greek recensions of African Acts of Martyrdom. And as Tertullian seems to have had a hand in the composition of the Acts of Perpetua (Robinson, "Texts and Studies" I. 2. pp. 47 ff), and is known to have been bilingual in his habits, the idea arises that he may have had a hand in the Greek recension also. With fresh interest, accordingly, we must ask "What can we learn as to the Transmission, the Character, the Date, and the Author of the Greek *Apologeticus*?"

Traces of its existence are really confined to Eusebius, who, by the way, represents Tertullian rather as a Roman jurist of fame than as a Churchman; therein diverging from the Western tradition, and possibly actuated by anti-Montanist bias. Rufinus adds little or nothing to our knowledge. These points established, Harnack compares in parallel columns, and with critical notes, the Greek extracts with the original Latin; and then examines first the lesser and then the greater divergencies, reaching the following results in order:—(i.) The translator was not Tertullian but a pure Greek; Latinisms are absent, the Greek is flowing and correct. The stylistic and juristic precision of Tertullian, as well as his pregnancy and irony, have largely disappeared. (ii.) He had indeed historic instinct, but did not really master the Latin as the subject demanded, taking liberties to the detriment of the sense. Incidentally Harnack concludes that he also knew Pliny's Epistle to Trajan itself, that he was a man of philosophic culture, and that the motive for such a version would be less after than before A.D. 218. Who then can even be suggested as author? On one name known to us several considerations converge, and none seem to bar the way. Julius Africanus, φιλόσοφος Λίβυς (if we may trust Suidas), for long resident at Emmaus, a well-informed historian, acquainted with Latin, and even a translator according to later tradition, satisfies our available criteria, even down to a peculiar use of ἐπιστήμη (= *disciplina*, cf. οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι πάντες, ap. Routh p. 228). The possible bearing of the investigation upon the Greek recension of the *Acta Perpetue* is reserved for future study.

The second study is entitled *Medicinisches aus der ältesten Kirchengeschichte*, and is treated under five subdivisions; to wit, Christian Physicians, Dietetics and Therapeutics, Physiology and Psychology, Diseases, Exorcisms. It is, of course, quite out of the question to attempt to convey even a notion of the *data* collected under each heading—*curiosa* and *paradoxa*, to use our author's own words.

Special attention is called to Luke, the Antiochene physician, as having probably served to shield his profession from the full force of the suspicion more or less apt to arise among the Christians towards what seemed to many little better than a carnal expedient in presence of the Divine Omnipotence. On this subject Harnack believes that a real crisis must have come about in the course of the second century; and that here, as in the case of Dietetics — where the general sentiment gradually took a *media via* between dualistic Rigorism and worldly Free-living — an attitude of compromise, characteristic of nascent Catholicism all round, replaced the specific temper of primitive Christianity (p. 65 *f.*). Something analogous may be seen in the history of the Lord's Supper. As regards physiological topics, emphasis is laid on the surprising information and ingenuity displayed by several Christian writers, notably Clement and Tertullian; the latter of whom also comes in for high praise in a sphere where most have found most fault, that of Psychology. Harnack holds that he did good service in opposing the Platonic and Gnostic hyper-spiritualism. That here his insight was great and his criticism incisive, even though he may have gone too far with their Stoic antagonists in bluntly maintaining that the soul is corporeal, though as such *sui generis*. The related views of Athenagoras, Dionysius of Alexandria, Methodius, and Lactantius, are also given, but more briefly. The difficult topic of "Possession" is next handled, with some reference to modern ideas like "suggestion" — temperately, and on the whole, sympathetically. The latter feature is specially noticeable in the tribute paid to the healing power of the Gospel, particularly as mediated through a personality penetrated by a deep faith. In this connection occurs a most careful sketch of the conditions converging upon a great outburst throughout the empire about the end of the first century of the belief in demons; and a subtle analysis lays bare this as one effect of the decay of trust in the old deities. Points of contact with the gospels are cited; and then is traced the great development of Exorcism, both Ethnic and Christian, in the second century, which saw a certain tendency to Syncretism in the formulæ employed. Its high evidential value was recognised on all hands; witness the appeals made on both sides in Origen's *Contra Celsum*. Harnack freely admits the value of the ethical motive lying at the back of the language of Exorcism; while yet he is alive to the menace to general culture therein involved, and frankly reminds the Christian *laudator temporis acti* that the Past contains relative elements with which one must reckon.

But the moral of the whole discussion, highly special as it is in many parts, is eminently positive and practical. It is, in a word, that the Gospel itself is essentially a message of salvation, of healing.

It is redemption. Its climax is this, that the suffering of the Righteous One means healing in human history. Therewith a new ideal dawned on the world. "In place of prosaic and statutory morality, there came the vision of a personal, pure, and divine Life, which spent itself in service to the brethren, and had given itself willingly unto death." Henceforth religion for men throughout the limits of the empire began to mean a new thing. No longer the favour of heaven on those that were "whole"; but, on the contrary, grace, unlooked for and unmerited, coming with health for the sick. This is what affronted the *ancien régime* represented by Celsus. But it was just what the newer type of humbler humanity, oppressed with a crowd of newly realised but clamant needs, and seeking relief in the cult of Æsculapius, "the Saviour," "the Friend of man" (*φιλανθρωπότητος*), was ready to hail as a veritable Evangel. And such it proved itself, not only by its tender solicitude for the weak and morally outcast, but also by its sympathy for the needy bodies of men, in which the "Man of Sorrows" was Himself again discerned. The formal motive may not always have been as disinterested as we to-day could sanction. But it covered immense devotion, and the love purified in the course of service to the frailty of our mortality. Hence, says Harnack, we must more and more evangelise in the spirit of Mackay of Uganda. "For Christianity is medicinal religion. This is its strength; in many developments also its weakness."

VERNON BARTLET.

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### The Faith and Life of the Early Church.

*An Introduction to Church History. By W. F. Slater, M.A., Biblical Tutor, Wesleyan College, Didsbury. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Pp. xvi. 412. Price 7s.*

THE design of this book, as stated in its preface, is "to investigate those features of the history of Christianity in the first century which are of importance and interest at the present time." Accordingly, our review will follow the line of the author's emphasis, reserving a word or two towards the end for such points of detail as seem to merit passing notice. The title itself is happy, as awakening a sense of the solidarity of early Christianity, often sadly lacking in books otherwise scholarly: the one sufficient refutation of certain theories as to primitive worship and polity being the simple requirement that they be capable of fitting in to the *tout ensemble* of which they profess to reflect a part.

The introductory chapter frankly indicates the "occasional" interest hinted at in the preface. The author is deeply convinced

that modern Christianity and Churchmanship suffer from certain accretions, only partially discredited by the Reformation; and that there are tendencies abroad to-day making for mere re-action in favour of Patristic, and late Patristic, ideals, rather than for genuine reversion to original Christian type. This latter the sixteenth century desired indeed, but was unable to fully attain. Yet while anxious not to let tradition seem to speak with the mouth of history, he is also aware that Criticism itself needs criticism, and that to discredit a tradition is not *per se* a mark of historic truth. It is true that "modern criticism has not raised the value of the 'Fathers' of the third and fourth centuries as expositors of Scripture, as the inheritors of a pure Christian tradition, or as the unbiassed witnesses of a simple faith. The 'unanimous consent of the Fathers' can scarcely be claimed for a single dogma" (p. 10). But criticism too has not ceased to sow wild oats of its own. What, therefore, our author sets before him is to garner some of its genuine grain in this field, and to add here and there a little of his own gleanings. Mr Slater writes, then, as a man already convinced on the broad issue already referred to. But he does not therefore write as a partisan. For he is well aware of the existence of "personal prepossessions;" and unacknowledged bias is the really fatal thing.

"The Church of Jerusalem" is the first topic discussed. Under it comes "the extension of the Church on Jewish lines," a subject on which the book throughout is very strong, making a not altogether unneeded protest against the Anti-Tübingen tendency among some critics to minimise the continued vitality of the Jewish influence within the Church. This is due in part to the now well-established fact that the Greek spirit had even more to do with the genesis of "Catholicism" than had Judaism, either positively or negatively. But within the first century the Jewish influence was most real, though steadily on the wane from 70 A.D. at least. In its polemical form its force was doubtless shattered by the Apostle of the Gentiles. But even here we shall do well to distinguish, as Mr Slater insists, between the "Jerusalem area" of influence, and that which lay beyond. For the former, James' personality was determinative or typical, though probably as representing anything but the maximum of Judaic limitations; and "it is fairly certain that James would never take part" in a "mixed" *agapé*, whatever Peter may have done after his mistake at Antioch (p. 31 n.). This means much, and there is only too good reason for supposing that "when the Church in Jerusalem was dispersed, and its chief members fled to Pella, they still retained their Judaic proclivities, and some became leaders of the Ebionite opinion" (p. 24). Verily, the Fall of Jerusalem and the Temple was momentous in the

history of the Church; in Barnabas and Ignatius we can still hear the mutterings of the storm which was brewing within the Church before 70 A.D., but was dissipated in large measure by the political cyclone which so effectually cleared the air of Judea. But whilst Judaism and Christianity, as systems, soon came to the dividing of the ways, as a spirit and type of life the former lived on as a silent moulding influence, until it was absorbed by the growing power of Hellenism, which, on one side at least—its moralistic inability to assimilate the Pauline mysticism—had a certain affinity with Jewish legalism (*cf.* the *Two Ways* and *Apostolical Constitutions*, Bk. I.). Still it is in the sphere of polity that our author finds the greatest dependence. Thus he writes (p. 24): "According to Hegesippus, after the death of James, his kinsman Simon was elected bishop, and the twelve following bishops were all of the circumcision. The Church of Jerusalem, therefore, never lost its unity; but that unity, outwardly and formally, was Judaic. Those who refer to it as the type and warrant of uniformity in the Church should first consider what its principle of unity was." It was quite on different lines from that of the Pauline churches. But it is the general effect produced by Mr Slater's realistic picture of this early Jerusalem community, as given in the Acts, that is really most valuable when thought out to its full consequences. How strange to many ears to-day are sentences like these, but can they be disproved? "There is no positive evidence that any of the 'twelve' ever renounced the observance of Jewish rites" (p. 23). "It was in the nature of the case that there should be no ordinances of public worship distinctively Christian (at that time), for the believers continued to attend the services of the temple and to support its ritual. . . . The formation of a visible Church, apart from Judaism, was necessarily, from the standpoint of the primitive Jewish Christians, a *schism*." Such a conception was "far below the horizon of the Pentecostal Church" (p. 37 *f.*). Thus "the Church took form by the 'logic of facts.' The accretion of increasing numbers in the fraternal life of fellowship made it needful that management should be concentrated somewhere"—*i.e.*, the management of the distinctively Christian aspects of the life of Messiah-trusting Jews, whose normal centre of worship was still the Jewish Temple, with its related rites; while as a special synagogue, like that of the *Libertini* for instance, they had certain distinctive features of their own. "If the Apostolic Church is to be a model for following times, surely it is emphatically so in this part of its method"—*i.e.*, its gradual adjustment to developing conditions. "Violation of the genius of Apostolic Christianity" is here more serious than divergence from its actual arrangements, which had no special relation

to Christ further than concerns their inner norm, "Whosoever would become great among you shall be your deacon"—aptly quoted by Mr Slater as the motto for his chapter on the "First Offices of the Christian Church." But even he overlooks the significance of 1 Cor. xvi. 15 *ff.* (*cf.* 1 Thess. v. 12 *f.*), as showing that the ministry sometimes at least arose in "volunteer" fashion, and was ratified by the simple recognition of the "brotherhood," on the ground of the good work done. This is not the place to go into the details of a subject so complicated in some aspects, while so vitally simple in others; though one could wish that the "very instructive passage," 1 Pet. v. 1 *ff.*, had been more exactly appreciated than it seems to be, even by our author (p. 43 *n.*). Suffice it here to say that the chapter in question is most suggestive, and moves quite in the right atmosphere of Church life, which is the great thing.

It is this same insight into the genius of primitive Christianity that yields the simple and unstrained rendering of the Christian sacraments, which is one of the best features of this book. This is specially the case with the Eucharist, of which the following description occurs appositely at the end of a lucid summary of these earlier days (pp. 57 *ff.*):—"The Christians met where possible daily at a common meal, which took in time the name Agape, or Lovefeast. After supper, he who happened to preside handed round bread and wine, in memory of the death of the Lord, and prayers and thanksgivings (*εὐχαρισταὶ*) were joined (*sic*) by all." Surely this view, that the Eucharist was but the culminating "moment" of the Agape, is that which alone fits into 1 Cor. xi. 20 *ff.*, as well as the Acts, and even much later notices. As to Baptism, our author, while in general objective in his exposition, seems for once to lapse into the traditional vein in dealing with infant baptism. We read at the end of the prior discussion, "All that is said of baptism in the New Testament, or in the writers of the first century, implies that the subjects who realised the benefits of salvation in connection with it were those who had intelligence to comply with its conditions." It is thus rather a surprise to turn over the page and find simply a quotation from Schaff, which at bottom rests on nothing better than loose analogies, ignoring several distinctive features of the New Covenant, or at least involving anachronism in the reflection attributed to the Apostolic age. Far nearer the truth in all likelihood is Mr Slater's own remark, when he says: "the opinion that baptism came in the place of circumcision seems to have been founded on Colossians ii. 11." For there is no positive evidence that the inference was drawn till after the apostolic age, when the Church was somewhat naturalised to a prolonged sojourn on earth as a continuous society, the visible mark of belonging to which in some sense, in the case of unconscious subjects may have been

gradually found in a sort of re-adapted baptism. That the factor which later operated so powerfully—fear for the lot of infants as partaking in original sin—was wholly absent at this period, seems shown by a passage towards the end of the *Apology of Aristides*, c. 140 (Syriac), as well as by Tertullian's protest against hurrying the innocent age to the water. Surely the time has come when we can look the evidence fair in the face, apart from *arrière pensée*, recognising that "primitive usage" and "later development" are not necessarily alternatives. Expediency is now, in fact, recognised by all as a legitimate factor in the problem. For even modern Baptists practise a Lord's Supper as modified by necessity, if unconscious, adjustment to developed requirements, as is the practice at least of those Pædo-Baptists, who have not forgotten that you cannot change the subject of baptism without changing its significance also.

Many other points occur, pregnant with suggestion, even where full proof is as yet lacking. Such are the nature of "unity" in a Church with James and Paul as moulding influences (p. 118, &c.); the state of the "Church" at Rome which can be reconciled with the highly tentative tone of the Jewish leaders in Acts xxviii. 22 (p. 127 f.); the specific reference to the Agape-Eucharist in Col. iii. 14 ff. (p. 139); and the manifold aspects of Judæo-Christianity scattered up and down the work. Indeed, a feature of the book is that it constantly sends the student back again to an old topic with fresh points of inquiry. It must now suffice to indicate the ground covered by the book as a whole. The first five chapters cover the period of the Acts, and include, besides those already named, "the New Departure: the inclusion of Gentiles," "the First Council and its results," "the Gospel in Asia." Chs. vii. and viii. deal with "the Close of the Apostolic Age," under the heads "Pauline Churches" and "Hebrew Churches," with the related Epistles. The sequel, "the Age after the Apostles," occupies ch. ix. Then come special chapters entitled "Jewish Christianity Heretical," "Early Christian Literature," "Baptism," "the Agapé and the Eucharist," "the Christhood of Jesus," "the Christ-party in Corinth," and "the Church," this last containing a vigorous reply to Mr Gore's position in "The Church and the Ministry," in which the analogy of the Judaisers is plied with much force.

Perhaps our author has erred in raising much the same questions time and again throughout his book, instead of devoting a single chapter to each main topic—*e.g.*, Judæo-Christianity in all its forms. The *technique*, too, is not perfect, especially as regards the system of reference; and occasional errors creep in—*e.g.*, for *Homilies* read *Recognitions* (p. 287), and for c. 69, read iii. 69 (p. 291, n<sup>6</sup>). But taken for what it professes to be, it is a thoroughly living and



stimulating book on fundamentally historical lines, and will amply repay perusal even by special students; while it is eminently fit to instruct the "intelligent layman," if he is careful not to lose himself in matters of detail. The author has a gift for putting issues in a pointed way, as when he represents the Romanist as asking those most concerned, "What authority decided that the development of creed and cultus should be limited to the first five centuries?" Or when (p. 45 *f.*) following Lightfoot's irrefutable discussion of the subject, he taxes Cyprian with "Neo-Christianity."

In conclusion, one may say that this book, unpretentious as it is, represents perhaps the first serious attempt made of recent years in England to gather together and make accessible to the public the stores of research now so rapidly accumulating here and on the Continent. Accordingly, it tends to fill a real gap. But the hope may perhaps be expressed that its author may find time to revise it carefully, with a view not only to increased accuracy but also to a certain simplification in its detail, tending to make it as readable as is its style. In any case, failing the possibility of a re-arrangement of the contents, a system of cross-references for closely related parts would be a distinct boon.

VERNON BARTLET.

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### Der Brief an die Epheser.

*Erläutert von Albert Klöpfer, Dr and Prof. d. Theol. a. d. Univ. Königsberg, i. Pr. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 201. Price 4s. 6d.*

Two important exegetical treatises by this scholar—*Exegetisch-kritische Untersuchungen über den Zweiten Brief des Paulus an die Gemeinde zu Korinth*, published in 1869, and *Kommentar über den Kolosserbrief*, published in 1882—have proved his thorough equipment as a New Testament exegete, and his skill in treating the critical problems that have to be taken account of in every thorough discussion of apostolic literature. In dealing with the critical questions that have arisen in regard to the composition and authenticity of Colossians, Klöpfer found it necessary, in consequence of the close connection between that epistle and the epistle to the Ephesians, to reserve much that could not be given in detail in a Commentary on Colossians, for a similar work on the other epistle. It is well known to all who have given any attention to the subject, that the one epistle cannot be fully treated without frequent reference to the other. The amount of matter common to both is considerable, and very intricate and involved questions arise in regard to the mutual

relations of the two epistles. This subject was exhaustively treated by Holtzmann, *Kritik der Epheser-und Kolosserbriefe, auf Grund einer Analyse ihres Verwandschaftsverhältnisses*, 1872, with the result that the Pauline authorship of a short Colossian epistle was recognised, which, however, in the form of our canonical epistle, had been largely interpolated by a later Paulinist, the author of the epistle to the Ephesians. In the very able treatise of Holtzmann we have, apart altogether from his own theoretical conclusions, abundant material admirably arranged and presented for forming our own estimate of the involved and difficult question of the mutual relations of these two epistles. Every commentator on these epistles has felt himself obliged to give his opinion as to the nature of the relation referred to, and to indicate, with reasons for his belief, whether that relation is such as to admit of the Pauline authorship of both, and if not, then which is Pauline, and in what way and with what intention the other was produced. When Klöpper in his *Commentary on Colossians* had to pronounce on certain points which involved the entertaining of certain views in regard to the twin epistle to the Ephesians, he was obliged to refer—just as Lightfoot felt it necessary to do—for detailed examination and proof to his discussion of these questions in his projected *Commentary on Ephesians*, which he has happily been able to carry out in the publication now under review.

It is perhaps just what might have been expected, that in a work having such a motive originating it, the exegetical and doctrinal annotations on the text should be executed in a somewhat perfunctory manner, should be for the most part rather commonplace and upon the whole inadequate, while the immediate interest of the readers, as well as evidently that of the writer, is concentrated upon the introduction which deals with matters of historical and literary criticism. At the same time there are certain qualities in the *Commentary*, resulting from the thorough critical equipment of the author, which render it, as we shall see, really helpful and informing upon particular points. It is, however, mainly in regard to matters of introduction that the notes of the *Commentary* are really valuable. On particular words—such as : *ἐπουράνια* (i. 3 ; ii. 6 ; iii. 10 ; vi. 12), *οἰκονομία* (i. 10 ; iii. 2), *περιποίησις* (i. 14), *πλήρωμα* (i. 23 ; iii. 19), *σεσωμένοι* (ii. 5, 8), *ξένος* (ii. 12, 19), *ποιμένες* (iv. 11), *μυστήριον* (v. 29), *σβέννυμι* (vi. 16), *πράσσω* (vi. 21),—which he regards as affording materials for the proof of the unauthenticity of the epistle, as being used in a sense different from that in which they are used in undoubtedly genuine epistles of Paul, we have careful notes, embodying thorough investigations often of a stimulating and suggestive character. But whatever in the epistle does not lend itself to the support of the theme of the introduction is passed over with a few

simple, sober, commonplace remarks. Thus the Commentary, in so far as it is of any consequence, must be regarded as an extension of the introduction, affording detailed and minute contributions to the critical theories as to the authorship, composition, and purpose of the epistle. What is entitled Introduction is given in a very attractive and interesting form in the very reasonable compass of thirty-five pages. In five chapters the author treats respectively of The Destination, The Authenticity, The Purpose, The Means for Effecting the Purpose, and The Date of the Epistle.

I. In the first chapter our author considers under three heads what can be said for the Ephesian, Laodicean, and Encyclical theories. He regards the style of address and the whole manner of the writer as altogether unsuited to a community like that of Ephesus, which he holds to have been characteristically Jewish-Christian in its membership. Nor can he accept the idea of its identity with the Laodicean epistle mentioned in Col. iv. 16, because its doctrinal material is distinctly not the sort of teaching that could have been offered to churches in danger of falling into such heretical aberrations as those against which the Colossians had been warned. Regarding with favour the circular letter theory, he describes the epistle as a catholicized rendering of the Colossian epistle, composed with special reference to the peculiarities of the Paulo-Petrine communities of Asia Minor. And here Klöpfer takes occasion to note how different from the usual Pauline style of address is a circular of this sort so general in its terms and indeterminate as to its destination.

II. In discussing the question of authenticity, Klöpfer deals first of all with the vocabulary and literary style of the epistle, and then with the distinctive character of its doctrinal contents. He recognises frankly that it claims directly and indirectly to be the work of Paul; yet the number of words peculiar to the epistle not found elsewhere in the Bible (18), of words not found elsewhere in the New Testament (16), and of words not found in the acknowledged writings of Paul (*i.e.*, the epistles commonly assigned to him with exception of the Pastoral epistles) which number 52, raises a question as to whether it be the writing of the apostle or not. Admitting that mere *hapax legomena* cannot afford sufficient proof of the unauthenticity of a document, Klöpfer places more weight upon the large number of phrases used in our epistle in a peculiar sense, of which he gives a list that fills a page. The style, too, he regards as essentially different from that of Paul as seen even in the epistle to the Colossians. It is luxurious and flowing and overladen, whereas the style of Paul is terse, simple, and pointed. Yet more important, according to Klöpfer, is the evidence derivable from an examination of the doctrinal system represented in the epistle. He points out

what seems to him important departures from Pauline doctrine, especially in the way in which the doctrine of the atonement and that of the Church is stated. In both cases we feel certain that his exegesis is at fault. He maintains that, whereas Paul ascribes the origination of salvation to God in and through Christ, the author of Ephesians traces it back to the independent initiative of Christ; contrasting Eph. i. 23; iv. 13 with Col. ii. 10, and Eph. ii. 14 with Col. i. 20; Eph. ii. 16 with Col. i. 20, 21, and 2 Cor. v. 13, 19. He also lays stress upon what he regards as a peculiar development given to doctrines which are themselves undoubtedly Pauline, referring to the restatement of the doctrine of man's universal sinfulness in Eph. ii. 11-13, which had been stated in a purely Pauline manner before in verses 1-5. The conclusion reached is that Paul was not himself the writer of the epistle, but that it was the work of one of his school at a time when the apostle's life was closed.

III. Our author gives special prominence to, and treats at length of, the question, What motive led the writer of our epistle to enter upon his task? He thinks it evident that doctrines of a heterogeneous character, and especially of an Antinomian tendency, threatened the communities addressed (iv. 20-22), and he labours to show that even in the religio-didactic part of the epistle the libertine views directly combated in the ethical portion are distinctly present to the mind of the writer. This theory of the presence throughout of threatened libertine heresies he seeks elaborately to prove by finding allusions to such, or at least the presentation of antidotes against them, in each of the three chapters forming the doctrinal part of the epistle. Then, alongside of this there is an unmistakable irenical purpose in the persistent preaching of the doctrine of the perfect unity of Christians on that higher platform where there is neither Jew nor Greek. The purpose of the writer of Ephesians has this in common with the author of Colossians, that he, just as well as Paul, seeks to substitute for the multitudinous, ideal supernatural mediators of the Jewish and Gentile religious systems the one messianic, kingly person of Christ, who through His ministers (apostles and prophets) brings all into a grand spiritual unity. Between the two writers, however, there is this distinction, that the author of Colossians is combating a definite Judaistic philosophy which threatened the Colossian community as a present danger, and so writes in a pointed and precise manner, whereas the author of Ephesians deals with scattered communities in which a heretical tendency of a somewhat indeterminate character has been cropping up in varying forms and with varying degrees of success, and so his treatment is necessarily more vague and indefinite and loose.

IV. The question is now proposed as to the method pursued by the writer of Ephesians having such a purpose before him. It was

natural that, having in view the performance of a task similar to that of Paul, when he wrote to the Colossians, he should make that epistle in some measure the model according to which he would fashion his own work. There were certain parts of that epistle unsuitable for his purpose (i. 1, 8; iv. 10-17; i. 6-8; ii. 5; i. 15-19; ii. 18), but even from the direct polemic of Paul in Col. ii. against the Colossians heresy, the author of Ephesians caught up certain ideas which in another form and for another purpose he used (ii. 15, iv. 8). Leaving these parts aside, the writer of Ephesians used with the greatest freedom all the rest of the Pauline epistles, expanding and paraphrasing the terse utterances of the apostle, extending Col. i. 24-29 into Eph. iii. 2-12, working out the ideas suggested by the *οἰκονομία* and *μυστήριον* of Col. i. 25, 26, in connection with his own particular point of view in Eph. i. 9, 10, &c. As for those sections in Ephesians that have nothing corresponding to them in Colossians, of which Klöpfer with praiseworthy candour gives a pretty complete list (the ideas *ἐκλεκτοί*, *υἱοθεσία*, *πρόθεσις*, &c., &c.), he makes no attempt to account for them, even though it is quite evident that many of them are wrought out with a dialectic power quite equal to that of the writer of Colossians, and would require us to postulate the existence of an otherwise unknown thinker with a genius quite equal to that of the brilliant apostle of the Gentiles.

V. Proceeding to deal with the date of the epistle, Klöpfer most ingeniously seeks to utilize the reference to the apostle's tribulations (iii. 15), and the request for the prayers on the apostle's behalf (vi. 18-20), which have commonly been supposed to refer to the imprisonment of Paul at the time he was writing the epistle, so as to adapt them to his theory that the epistle was written after the apostle's death. In consequence of Paul's martyrdom those Gentile Christians, who had viewed him as their champion, were discouraged, and, having lost him who was their bond of union, were getting broken up. Nothing can help them but the opening of the apostle's mouth boldly, one of his literary successors speaking in his name those great truths which he had been wont to proclaim as the apostle of the Gentiles. He wrote while yet the apostle's presence and style were very familiar in the Christian communities. It was not a time of actual persecution, yet the days were evil and called for circumspect walking (v. 15, 16). It was not Montanism that inspired our epistle, for it looks forward through ages to come instead of speaking of a speedy catastrophe, and the prophets referred to are not the fanatical soothsayers of the Kataphrygians. In regard to church organisation the ruling and teaching offices had been bound more closely together, but there is no trace of the episcopate as rising above the presbyterate, or of any hierarchical constitution of

the Church. And though we have no mention of the miraculous charisms of the apostolic church, we cannot conclude that they had ceased, but only that the purpose of the writer did not lead him to mention them. In consideration of all these particulars Klöpper is inclined to fix the date of our epistle not later than two or three decades after the death of Paul. He considers that 1st Peter is later than and dependent upon Ephesians, inasmuch as in it there is no longer any trace of that separation of Jew and Gentile which it was a main object of Ephesians finally to abolish, and references are made to widespread persecutions which probably fix its date at the period of Trajan. In vocabulary Hebrews and Ephesians are undoubtedly mutually related, but owing to the uncertainty of the date of Hebrews, it will not matter for our present purpose whether it be regarded as earlier or later than the other. Ephesians was certainly known to and is used by Clement of Rome (Ep. 93-97).

Turning, in conclusion, to the question of destination, which, in the beginning of the introduction, on the supposition of the Pauline authorship he had left *in suspenso*, we are interested to find that on the ground of the non-Pauline authorship Klöpper is inclined to accept the words ἐν' Ἐφέσῳ as genuine. That the writer meant his epistle for a wider circle of readers is, he thinks, no reason why he may not have formally addressed it to the saints at Ephesus. It was only when a more critical stage had been reached that the question would arise, How could Paul have written to the members of that Church whom he had known so well in the style used in the epistle purporting to be from his pen? When scholars began to use their critical faculties, then a critical edition, still holding by the Pauline authorship, struck out the ἐν' Ἐφέσῳ, and its editors sought elaborately to explain the meaning of τοῖς οὖσι in a non-natural sense; whereas in all the popular editions the original reading which alone was intelligible persistently maintained its place.

It must be evident to every one who has followed the full account we have given of the contents of this work, that we have here to do with a treatise of first importance in so far as the critical questions about the composition and authorship of Ephesians are concerned. Even where his conclusions are such as cannot be entertained, in making his way to these conclusions, he supplies materials which no scholar seeking to grapple with the difficulties should overlook. His line of thought is generally fresh and original, and with the exception of one or two very general references to Holtzmann and Pfeiderer, we have no mention of German authors throughout the Introduction, not because he is not thoroughly acquainted with them, but because as a well equipped scholar, wearing his learning lightly, he prefers to pursue his own way. Upon the whole, since the appearance of Holtzmann's *Kritik* in 1872, we have had nothing on

the Ephesians so deserving and requiring to be taken account of in any critical examination of the epistle, unless it be the able papers of Von Soden in the *Jahrbücher für Prot. Theol.*, 1887, which go more into detail, but do not cover the field in the same thorough manner.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

### Praktische Theologie.

*Von Dr E. Chr. Achelis, ord. Professor der Theologie an der Universität Marburg. Zweiter Band. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xx. 540. Price M. 11.*

DR ACHELIS has now completed his remarkably fresh and effective exposition of Practical Theology. The principle on which he proceeds, it will be remembered, is that Practical Theology is simply the application of the commonly recognised predicates of the Church : holiness, unity, and universality. The volume in hand, which deals with the social aims of the Church, is at the same time the severest test and the best illustration of the value of this principle. And, on the whole, Dr Achelis is entitled to claim that he has found a principle which has the merit of supplying a simple and serviceable basis for grouping and discussing the topics and problems of Practical Theology. If the predicates of the Church give an adequate account of the aims and work of the Church, the author has established his theory. He finds it needful, however, to modify his interpretation of the predicate of universality by regarding the Church and the congregation as essentially the same. "The particular congregation is the *Mikroekklesia* ; the organic union of the *Mikroekklisiai* is the Church, the *Makroekklesia* ; and in nothing essential does the one differ from the other." This modification enables him to treat liturgies and public worship in a very practical way, and in particular to find for preaching its appropriate place as the central part of evangelical worship. The discussion of the various questions connected with liturgies is very clear and able, and will be found by all who are interested in the improvement of public worship to be both interesting and suggestive. Here, as throughout the work, very concise and yet complete historical statements are given, which cannot fail to be helpful. Dr Achelis calls special attention to Calvin's form of service as including the singing of the Decalogue, and the recitation of the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed. His criticism of the Book of Common Prayer, though it will surprise and perhaps pain many, has in it too much truth. He says : — "No trace is to be found in it of any liturgical principle what-

ever; it is a conglomerate of Scripture readings, hymns, and prayers, without any psychological progress, . . . a heaping up of prayers and Bible readings without principle." The attitude of Dr Achelis toward the æsthetic in public worship needs guarding. All will agree that a style of music which silences the great body of worshippers, and throws the service of praise on a few specially trained and qualified persons, cannot but tend to a deterioration of the idea of Christian worship. But there is in the opposite extreme no little danger of a familiarity which, by breeding irreverence, is equally destructive of that idea. Dr Achelis gives also most interesting accounts and admirable historic summaries of the Inner Mission, the Gustav-Adolf-Verein, and the Missionary Societies. The work of the Inner Mission he cordially appreciates, but he has sorrowfully to admit that it is marred by what in this country we should have to characterise as Plymouthism. One can easily understand why, even at the expense of his theory, Dr Achelis should think it best not to disturb the arrangement by which Missions to the Jews and the Heathen are left to the care of Societies working outside, though in close connection with the Church. But why should he think it needful to reduce the Missions carried on by Churches outside Germany to the same level, by representing these Church-Missions as practically Society-Missions? He is disposed to argue that State Churches can naturally carry on such Missions only through voluntary associations, and to explain the exception in the case of the Church of Scotland as due to competition with the Free Church! The least satisfactory part of Dr Achelis' work, to my thinking, is that which deals with Church Government. He calmly says it is for the most part a matter of indifference who rules the Church, or by whom its rulers are appointed, provided only it is so governed that room is found for the operation of the Word of God, and that the Church can build itself up in accordance with its divine call. To my thinking, government is one of the ways of building up the Church. On the view of government advocated by Dr Achelis, it is easy to see why Germany shows such a development of free associations to carry on outside the Church what is properly the work of the Church.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

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## The Old Testament in the Jewish Church.

*A Course of Lectures on Biblical Criticism. By W. Robertson Smith. Second Edition, revised and much enlarged. London and Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1892. 8vo, pp. xiv. 458. Price 10s. 6d.*

THESE lectures, it will be remembered, were an appeal from the ecclesiastical courts to the Christian laity of our land on behalf of the new criticism. Their effect was striking. With a rare wealth of detail, they were lucid and firm; there was a mass of learning, precise and severe, but it glowed with the passionate conviction of an advocate who has fought and suffered on its behalf. Not that there was anything unduly personal in the lectures: to read them now, and to remember that they were delivered at a time when the personal interests of the author were alone at issue, is to be filled with admiration at the way in which these personal interests are absolutely lost in devotion to the cause itself. Most noteworthy, however, was their strong evangelical consciousness. Their chief aim was not scientific, but religious: "it is more important to understand the method of God's grace in Israel than to settle when a particular book was written" (Lect. XI.). They were the appeal of a Christian to Christians: "We can draw near to God in every act of prayer in the heavenly sanctuary, through the new and living way which Jesus has consecrated in His blood" (Lect. VIII.). "The death and resurrection of our Saviour are the supreme proof of the spiritual truths of Christianity" (Lect. X.). They avowed the principles and methods of the Reformation (see Lect. I.). And they were full of the consciousness that the theory of the Old Testament, which they substituted for the traditions of the Church, was a real contribution to Christian apologetic. While they thus fought traditionalism in the interests of spiritual religion, they were outspoken against rationalism. They denied that prophecy was a mere return to the truths of natural religion: they proved it unique in history, and vindicated its character as a positive and a true revelation from God.

These strong religious and evangelical characteristics of the Lectures are preserved and even emphasised in this new edition. During the intervening years Professor Smith has been engaged in very wide researches in Semitic religion: therefore his old testimony to the uniqueness of the religion of the prophets, and the impossibility of explaining it by natural causes comes now with greatly increased authority. Perhaps now, also, upon this repeated and undiminished expression of it, all men will see the sincerity

and consistency of Professor Smith's loyalty to the principles methods of the Reformers. That he still feels his obligation to fight traditionalists from the standpoint of these principles is evident in what is now one of the most stirring passages of his volume—a new appeal (unfortunately too long for quotation) to those who, in the question of the text of Scripture, refuse to enter upon the examination of internal evidence, because they allege the latter to be uncertain or delusive. This passage is as eloquent and forcible as if spoken in the glow of the original controversy (pp. 127-129).

All this will show that the enlargement of these Lectures does not consist of mere additions of instances and proofs. New life has been breathed into the whole. A comparison of the two editions reveals a careful revision of the style, even in Lectures where no substantial change has been made. Superfluous sentences have been cut off, and the few ambiguous ones made decisive (*e.g.*, 79, old ed. 91). Dates have been inserted (*e.g.*, 85, old ed. 99). Sometimes whole paragraphs have been reset, and explanations lengthened or cleared up by references (*e.g.*, 94, 95, old ed. 108). Where a large addition has been made, as in the case of the historical books in Lecture V., rendering necessary a re-arrangement of subsequent paragraphs, this has been carefully seen to (*cf.* 234, 235 with pp. 218, 219 old ed.). So thorough has the revision been, and so fully have the additions been written in the spirit of the original, that but for the preface it would be impossible for a critic of many years hence to distinguish what belonged to the new edition (*e.g.*, the insertion of "to-day" on 108, *cf.* 118 of old ed.). The chief changes have been large additions to the sections on the historical books in Lecture V.; the throwing of the whole discussion of the Canon into Lecture VI.; the re-writing of Lecture VII. on the Psalter; "considerable changes" on Lecture XI. on the Pentateuch; and a new Lecture on the Hexateuch.

In his treatment of the Canon, Professor Smith has made no changes beyond qualifying a few phrases and adding a paragraph on the "Former Prophets." In this paragraph he "apprehends that the association of histories and prophecies in one collection is older than the designation Former and Latter Prophets," and rests not on a tradition that prophets were the authors of the historical books, but on a correct perception that the histories formed a necessary part of the record of the prophets' work. They were edited by men who stood under the influence of the great prophets. Professor Smith still holds that one cannot be sure of our Lord's authority for more than Law, Prophets, and Psalms as canonical scripture. This is based on a correct exegesis of Luke xxiv. 44; and no doubt Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and Esther are not quoted in the New Testament, and doubts of them were not settled till a

late date. But the reference in Matthew xxiii. 35, to which Professor Smith does not allude; and the fact that by the end of the first century A.D. we have witnesses to the contents of the Canon as twenty-two books or twenty-four, counting Ruth and Lamentations separately; and the feeling prevalent (as in Josephus) that the Canon was already ancient,—surely justify the opinion that the Old Testament was, in our Lord's day, of the contents and form in which we now have it (in our Hebrew Bibles). At the same time, there is not enough of evidence that the Old Testament Canon was practically closed by the date Ryle and even Cornill fix—100 B.C. That is surely a little too early.

As to the historical books. In his previous edition, while treating of the LXX., Professor Smith had adduced some evidence that the historical books were compiled from materials of different value, and in Lecture VIII., and in a note to that lecture, he had dealt with the special case of the trustworthiness of the Book of Chronicles as contrasted with the Book of Kings. All this he has now thrown together as an enlargement of Lecture V.; he has increased his evidences; he has examined a number of narratives in Judges-Kings with much greater detail, to the definite conclusion that they contain fluctuating and contradictory elements; and he has drawn out a much fuller case against Chronicles. While Kings has virtually the character of contemporary evidence, Chronicles “is exactly in the style of the Jewish Midrash: it is not history but Haggada, moralising romance”—a conclusion equivalent to denying that the Canon has equal authority throughout—a denial that falls in with Professor Smith's opinion that the precise limits of the Canon were never fixed by any authority, and that it is not binding on the Christian conscience to receive the Book of Chronicles. Of all the new statements of this edition, this one will probably excite most attention, for it is most directly aimed at a prevalent and definite belief of the Church. It is put with a clearness, and supported by an amount of evidence that did not appear in the first edition. Yet it was all virtually there; sufficient passages were quoted in illustration of it.

Before leaving this part of the volume, one of the very few omissions which Professor Smith has made, may be noticed. He has withdrawn the version he suggested for Proverbs xxx. 15, “the daughters of the horseleech,” by which he turned it into a title (*cf.* p. 111 with 122 of old ed.)

In Lecture VII. on the Psalter, the results of the author's article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* have been incorporated. But the new thing is, of course, his treatment of Professor Cheyne's theory of Maccabean Psalms in the second Psalter (42-83). In his article Professor Smith had dated the completion of this Psalter before the

end of the Persian period (330 B.C.). His reasons were that the titles of the Psalms show divisions of the temple choir, and names for them which were obsolete by the time of the Chronicler, that the temper of the Psalms, insisting upon the righteousness of Israel, suits the Persian period, and that their historical allusions fit the reign of Artaxerxes III. (Ochus), about 350 B.C. Cheyne, on the other hand, assigns out of the second Psalter the following to the Maccabean age,—44, 60, 61, 63, 74, 79, 83. He does not deny that the Elohistie Psalter—as Psalms 42-83 are called, from their having been so revised that Elohim is substituted for Jehovah—was closed, and that the term “the Sons of Korah” had become obsolete before the Maccabean age. But he regards the Maccabean Psalms as insertions, and thinks that they were “elohised” to suit their new context. In answer, Professor Smith now points out that in that case there must also have been invented for the Psalms, titles (44 Korah, 74 and 79 Asaph) which had no longer any meaning. This, he holds, is too complicated a hypothesis, to be accepted without further examination. If the last editor incorporated contemporary Psalms in the body of the Psalter, his motive must have been liturgical—that is, he must have designed them to be in sequence with other pieces. It is highly probable such insertions were made—*e.g.*, 66 and 67, may have been added to follow 65, as a group of songs for presentation of firstfruits at the Passover. But, as these insertions are by the Elohistie editor, they prove nothing against the improbability of the insertion of Maccabean Psalms under obsolete titles. As to the individual Psalms assigned by Cheyne to the Maccabean age, Professor Smith holds that a Maccabean date is impossible for Ps. 60, because of the repetition of vv. 7-14 in Psalm 108 with Elohistie peculiarities; Ps. 61 and 64 were assigned to the Hasmonean period because of their mention of a king; but Professor Smith points out that this occurs only in the last verses, which are unnatural and merely liturgical additions. There remain 44, 74, 79, 83. Professor Smith attempts to show that the first three reflect a persecution and captivity of the Jews at the hands of Artaxerxes Ochus, and thinks that 83 suits the Persian period better than the Greek. Of the Psalms which Cheyne assigns to the pre-Maccabean era, Professor Smith judges the situation invented for 42, 43 to be fanciful; finds it hard to believe that 45 and 72 speak of foreign monarchs; does not think that 72 requires any historic background, but makes it a “prayer for the re-establishment of the Davidic dynasty under a Messianic king, according to prophecy,” assigns it with 68 to the time after the Persian overthrow; and thus, of all the Psalms which speak of a king, leaves only 45 to the days of the old kingdom. Canon Cheyne has since replied (in the *Expositor* for August) that if, as Professor Smith

believes, the Elohist Psalter must have been closed before the Maccabean era, this is a sufficient answer to his argument for the presence in Ps. 40-89 of Maccabean Psalms, but he is not yet convinced that it must; and while he would like to believe that 44, 74, and 79 belong to the reign of Artaxerxes III., he thinks Professor Smith, in order to show that they do, has had to distort the few records of that time which we possess. He does not admit a pre-exilic date for 45, or the general reference for 72.

It is evident that Professor Smith has been led to suppose the situation he describes under Artaxerxes III. by the necessity, which his opinion of the close of the Elohist Psalter before the Greek era has laid upon him, and that that situation is largely only a conjecture. Yet the uncertainty of the latter should not be allowed to infect our judgment of his main position, that the Elohist Psalter was closed before the Greek era. It is true that he affirms insertions in it from the Hasmonean age—the last verses of 61 and 63—because of their allusions to a king; but these are fragments; they are not granted titles like 44, 74, 79,—titles which, as he points out, are obsolete, nor does Professor Cheyne meet this point about the obsolete titles. And the point seems to me strengthened by the existence of the supplement to the Elohist Psalter of Psalms 84-89, which have not undergone the Elohist redaction; surely it would have been more natural to insert among them the Maccabean additions, if there were any such. On the whole, therefore, Professor Smith (apart from the situation he supposes under Artaxerxes III.) has the best of the argument, but the caution of both critics is significant of the great uncertainty of the matter.

As to the Third Collection, Ps. 90-150, Professor Smith agrees with many critics in assigning it to the early Maccabean age. The presence in it of the Songs of Degrees, which are older than the close of the Elohist Psalter, he explains by the fact that they were hymns of the pilgrim laity, and not of the Temple ministers. But he omits altogether the important question raised by Ps. 137, which Professor Cheyne, upon an argument that seems to me capable of justifying almost any date for any Psalm, takes from its obvious origin in the exile, and assigns as a "dramatic lyric" to a much later date. Of the earlier collections, Ps. 3-41, and the Davidic Psalms in 42-83, Professor Smith does not doubt that, while they take their main colour from the age after the exile, they contain many exilic and some pre-exilic pieces. In face of the evident unfitness of many of the titles which assign Psalms to David, he rightly says that the only question which is now at issue is, whether a substantial element of this part of the Psalter must not be assigned to David, just because of the tradition that so

many Psalms were his. But he answers this question in the negative, and accounts for David's connection with the Psalter by his musical and not by his literary repute. He is careful, however, to show that no real religious interests suffer by the transference of so many Psalms from the incidents of an individual life, which they often evidently do not suit, to the experience of the Jewish Church as a whole. It will be felt that the care for David's literary service to the Church does not get justice done to it. It is strong enough for a more detailed statement than the mere hint in the first sentence on p. 224. That David had the repute of a writer of serious song is certain as early at least as the Exile—that is, before Professor Smith's date for the collection of the First Psalter; that he had a right to this repute is supported by arguments, such as those for the authenticity of the elegy on Saul and Jonathan which still satisfy some of the most exacting critics. Besides, if, as Professor Smith says, "dancing, music, and song are in early times the *united* expression of lyrical inspiration," is it possible for David to have been the musician without at the same time, and to an equal extent, being a composer of words? Another want in this admirable introduction to the Psalter is, that while it seeks to show in detail how so many of the "Davidic" Psalms best suit the post-exilic age, it does not embark on the equally necessary inquiry whether any of them suit the age of the great prophets, nor is the reader at all reminded of the very great probability of the existence in the days of the old kingdom of a body of religious poetry, large enough and spiritual enough to have shared the survival and popularity of the prophetic writings. Prof. Smith may be sure in his own mind that such an inquiry would not take us very far, but not to have discussed it more fully in lectures addressed to the laity must in the present state of lay opinion detract from the reasonableness and usefulness of his volume.

Space does not permit of a detailed review of the rest that is new in Prof. Smith's lectures. In Lecture XI., on the Pentateuch and the first legislation, the changes are mainly two. The paragraphs are much enlarged and enforced which were designed to show that we are not shut up to the alternative of the Mosaic authorship of the whole Pentateuch, or that the Pentateuch is a mere forgery; but that the Jews of the post-exilic era might with all sincerity ascribe to Moses legislation which they knew to have been recently framed. Evidence is given to prove that the Jews were in the habit of ascribing to Moses what they believed to be implicit, or to have had its origin, in his work for Israel. And a very full discussion is given of the question of the Book of the Covenant and the Sinai legislation. The added Lecture (XIII.) on

the Narrative of the Hexateuch, contributes to the volume what was needed to make it a complete survey of the new criticism of the Old Testament. It is a sketch of the processes and results of the literary analysis of the Pentateuch. Among other new matters, there is an answer to Dillmann's dissent from Wellhausen's reconstruction, on the ground that he believes the Priestercodex to be older than Deuteronomy (Baudissin's arguments are not considered in connection with this), and reasons for the opinion that J and E were fused before the Deuteronomist redaction of the Hexateuch. In this full and lucid exposition we miss a satisfactory account of how the historical books which were joined to the Pentateuch under the same redaction, before the Pentateuch received the Levitical legislation, got separated from the Law.

One new point seems to me more than doubtful. In Lect. X., in the sentence, "The Philistines generally attacked the central mountain district of Canaan *from the north by the easy roads leading into the heart of the land from the plain of Jezreel.*" The words in italics have been changed to "from Aphek in the northern part of the plain of Sharon." This means, as explained in "Additional Note B," the adoption of Wellhausen's theory that the Apheks of the Philistine invasions, when the ark was taken (1 Sam. iv. 1), and when Saul was slain (1 Sam. xxix. 1), and of the Syrian invasions by Benhadad (1 Kings xx. 26), and Hazael (2 Kings xiii. 17), are one and the same Aphek, and that this lay in the north of Sharon over against Samaria at the entrance of the easiest road into the latter. Now, it is by no means certain that because the name Aphek occurs several times, it is the name of one and the same place; for, apart from the instances quoted above, which may possibly refer to the same place, there are several other instances of the name in the Old Testament which belong to other places. The name seems to be one of that class of place-names, the literal meaning of which being generic, they occur in Palestine three and even four times over. There is an argument, it is true, for the Apheks of 1 Samuel iv. and xxix. being the same, in the fact that they were both the base of the Philistine operations against Israel. But even suppose all these Apheks, from which Syrians and Philistines operated, were the same. It is as unlikely as possible that this lay on the plain of Sharon. Professor Smith says that the easiest ways into Northern Israel lay thence; and Wellhausen talks of the plain of Dothan "merging" into the plain of Sharon ("History of Israel," § 3). But neither of these statements is correct. The plain of Sharon does not merge into Dothan, for there is a pass between them; and the easiest way into Northern Israel is not from Sharon, but (as Professor Smith says in his earlier edition) from Jezreel, whence a series of more or less connected plains leads as far south

as Shechem. One simply cannot imagine the Syrians passing by this open door, and working their way round to the mouths of much more difficult passes in Sharon. But what is conclusive against the theory of Aphek being in Sharon is the course of the Philistine campaign before the battle of Gilboa. If the Aphek at which the Philistine army encamped were in Sharon, and if, as Professor Smith's new edition says, the easiest road lay thence into Northern Israel, why did they leave Sharon and come away round to Esdraelon and Gilboa? I do not see that Lucian's version of 2 Kings xiii. 22 is proof that Aphek lay on the west flank of Palestine, nor even if the Greek of Josh. xii. 18 be the correct reading, does it necessarily refer to the plain of Sharon.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

**La Sulammite: Mélodrame en cinq actes et en vers.**  
**Traduit de L'Hébreu avec des notes explicatives, et**  
**une introduction sur le sens et la date du Cantique**  
**des Cantiques.**

*Par C. Bruston. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher. 8vo, pp. 79. F. 2.*

THIS pamphlet of 78 pages contains a translation of the Song of Songs, with a discussion of the chief theories of its interpretation. It forms as lucid and summary an introduction to the poem as the student could desire. The unity is defended along the same line of argument as by Prof. W. R. Smith. The hypothesis of Delitzsch, Zöckler, and Orelli, that the Song is the drama of the Love of Solomon and the Shulammite is refuted—also by familiar arguments. M. Bruston adheres to the interpretation which introduces a Shepherd as the Shulammite's lover, and reads the drama as the conflict and victory of her pure love for him against the advances of the King. The question as to whether the Shepherd appears in the earlier acts, Bruston answers in the negative—against Renan and Oettli, the latter of whom finds the Shepherd and the Shulammite conversing in i. 7, 8, 15-17; iv. 8-v. 1; vii. 12-viii. 4—"Le bien-aimé de la Sulammite ne paraît sur la scène qu'au dernier acte." He also disposes of Stickel's uncalled-for introduction of a second pair of shepherd lovers, to fit the dialogues assigned by Renan to the Shulammite and her lover. Bruston's theory is, therefore, practically Ewald's; but the chief aim of his paper is to suggest an addition both to the characters and to the plot, which, he maintains, removes a great difficulty in Ewald's hypothesis, and powerfully assists the dramatic effect of the story. In the passage iii. 6-v. 1, there is either a marriage in progress or, at least, the pre-



paration for a marriage, and Solomon is the bridegroom. On Delitzsch's interpretation this is the wedding of the King and the Shulammité: on Ewald's it is only the attempt of the King to entice the Shulammité to marriage by the display of all the pomp of a royal wedding (iii. 6-iv. 7), to which the Shulammité replies by a picture of her true lover's call to her, and by her answer to him (iv. 8-16). (In this last section of the passage Oettli varies Ewald's interpretation by reading it as the actual appearance of the Shepherd himself.) But now Bruston suggests that the marriage is between Solomon and a foreign princess—one, probably, from Tyre, because of the allusion to Lebanon in iv. 8. Chapter iv. to verse 16*a* is Solomon's address to this bride, who answers in 16*b*: the King replies in v. 1, and the last two lines of this verse are the hymeneal chorus. After this new marriage, the repeated attempts of the King on the Shulammité become, of course, doubly odious.

In criticism of this construction, it may be said that, as there is nothing conclusively against it, so there is nothing that imperatively calls for it. The drama gets on very well without the foreign princess. It is natural to take iv. 8 *ff.* as the words of the Shepherd, particularly as they resemble the words put into his mouth in v. 2; and could the author have made Solomon address two women in sometimes almost identical language (*cf.* iv. 1-7 with vi. 4-9, and vii. 1-9)? The arguments—that the armed escort of Solomon, iii. 7-8, implies a journey across the frontier and through Lebanon infested with wild beasts, and that the King would never address a shepherd girl, but only a princess of equal rank with himself as *my sister* (iv. 9 *ff.*) are weak: besides, on Ewald's theory, the latter term of address is used, not by the King but by the Shepherd. But if M. Bruston has not proved his point, he has the merit of great suggestiveness, and, altogether, his little work is most useful. The translation is very beautiful; and if the additions to it, in the shape of characters and stage directions are too numerous, and sometimes a little ludicrous, we can have nothing but admiration for the way he brings out the high ethical aim of the book.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

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## Les Sacrifices Lévitiques et l'Expiation.

*Courte Esquisse par Théodore Naville.*

Lausanne, Georges Bridel et Cie. 8vo, pp. 147. F. 2.

THE aim of this "brief sketch" is more praiseworthy than either its methods or its results. It seeks to uphold the vicarious or sub-

stitutionary theory of the Atonement, as opposed to the so-called Moral Theory, by an appeal to the sacrificial ritual of Leviticus, chaps. i.-vii., and xvi. Now, it is impossible, at this time of day, to ignore the fact that the priestly ritual of the old Covenant is not a thing "of a single casting," but a gradual growth through centuries of priestly *praxis*; consequently M. Naville, who prefers the old paths, must appear wanting to those that prefer the new. Nor can I admit that the author has succeeded in proving his main thesis, that "l'immolation de la victime" is "le moment important dans les rites de sacrifice," against the express testimony of the texts themselves, and the judgment of the most competent modern expositors, that the essence of the sacrificial rite lay in the manipulation of the blood by the officiating priest.

It must be admitted, however, that the author is commendably free from dogmatic prepossessions, and strives honestly to give us an objective treatment of the question at issue. But there is a looseness in the relation of the chapters to each other, and a lack of scientific method and accuracy in the presentation of certain of his facts. Thus, in his investigation as to the meaning and use of *kipper* as a *terminus technicus* of the sacrificial ritual, it is a serious mistake—but one not unknown in more pretentious volumes—to adduce instances from the Psalms and Isaiah, instead of confining attention to the priestly code, where the word is used in its technical sense. There this verb never occurs otherwise than with a *personal* object, a fact which alone necessitates the revision of parts of M. Naville's "sketch."

Still, the work is not without value as a fair statement of the difficulties that surround this great subject of sacrifice, and an honest attempt to elucidate the familiar aphorism of S. Augustine as to the relation of the New Covenant to the Old.

ARCHD. R. S. KENNEDY.

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### Early Greek Philosophy.

*By John Burnet, M.A., Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. London and Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black. Demy 8vo, pp. vi. 378. Price 10s. 6d.*

MR BURNET has given in this volume a history of Early Greek Philosophy at once competent and interesting. This is faint praise for a book which bears on every page the traces of thorough critical research, and in which there is not, from first to last, a dry or hazy paragraph. The literary restraint with which it is written is as striking as its erudition. It is by no means only a collection of

the results of modern criticism, but an independent study of the greatest value ; and the originality of the author's positions impresses one at every turn of the history. Mr Burnet has sifted, with rare sagacity and exactness, the text on which he bases his rendering of the fragments of the early Cosmologists. He seizes the salient points in each successive system with a philosophic grasp as admirable as it is reliable, and the result is an English history of Early Greek Philosophy, from Thales to Archelaos, which will remain for many a day not only the latest but the best.

Mr Burnet's conception of the period with which he has to deal in this volume is clearly indicated at the outset, and he carries it with him all through his work. It is, that all early Greek philosophy was an attempt to explain the sensible world from a sensible origin (p. 306). According to this conception, the effort of the Greek mind during the period of the early cosmologists was to discover the primary substance, that which persists throughout all change, and they constantly thought of it as sensible, so that "the Eleatics intended their system to be a physical one just as much as the Ionians did" (p. 306) ; and such questions as those which we ask regarding matter and spirit would have been absolutely meaningless to an early Greek philosopher (p. 189). Accordingly, Mr Burnet lays it down at the outset of his work--and he claims to be the first historian of Greek philosophy who has done so--that the term *φύσις* is invariably used by the early cosmologists to express this idea of a permanent and primary substance (p. 10). This the author keeps steadily before him as a fundamental historical truth, and it gives its distinctive feature to many of his expositions, notably his theory of Pythagoreanism, that its so-called *numbers* were sensible objects, and his view that the *It is* of Parmenides is a sensible reality. On another point Mr Burnet, at the beginning of his work, clears the decks for himself,—the alleged Oriental influence on the Greek mind. He admits that Egypt may have given Greece the beginnings of a knowledge of mathematics, as much as is possessed by, say, a landscape gardener, and that a suggestion of astronomy may have come from Babylon ; but he thinks himself justified in laying down "that the Greeks did not borrow their philosophy from the Orientals, and that for the very good reason that the Orientals had no philosophy at all to borrow" (p. 17).

To follow Mr Burnet in his analysis of the opinions of the representatives of the various schools is impossible. Nor is it needful, inasmuch as the ground has often been covered before. But the reader who knows even the outlines of the history will find that Mr Burnet does much more than re-state the facts ; and that, while paying all due deference to the great authority of Zeller, he is by no means an English echo of the German historian. Indeed,

one of the most interesting features of the book is the modest, almost impersonal, but often most convincing way in which the conclusions of previous authorities—even Zeller—are checked and, in some cases, rejected. I can only allude, in passing, for instance, to his argument that Anaximander's "innumerable worlds," which he regarded as "gods," do not, as Zeller held, succeed one another in time, but are co-existent. Mr Burnet moves with independent step, tracking the footmarks of those who have preceded him, but he is the slave of none of them; and though some of his own conclusions may need checking here and there, there is an entire absence of dogmatic assertion, and the materials for coming to a conclusion are placed faithfully in the reader's hands, for the author never asks us to take his mere word for it. Probably the freshest and most independent part of the work is Mr Burnet's chapter on Pythagoras. Following out a suggestion made by Robertson Smith in his "Religion of the Semites," that such cults as arose amongst the Semites of the seventh century B.C., were by no means confined to the Hebrews, and were a resuscitation of obsolete mysteries,<sup>1</sup> he is led to represent Pythagoras less as a philosopher than as an ancient Revivalist. Popular religion influenced philosophy by making it "above all things a way of life" (p. 87). Henceforward philosophy did for men what religion had done for them in other ages, but this meant its ultimate destruction as philosophy, which actually took place in the hands of the Neoplatonists, who were the spiritual heirs of Pythagoras. Mr Burnet finds this reading of the place of Pythagoras borne out by the earliest stratum of tradition regarding his life, which represents him less as a philosopher than as a wonder-worker and religious reformer; in other words, a sort of "medicine-man." It further accords with this that the Pythagorean order, established by the philosopher at Kroton, was not a political league, but a religious fraternity that attempted to supersede the State, and succeeded for a time, till a reaction came, and the rule of saints was broken. The Pythagorean order was in fact a *Salvation Army*, and, as Mr Burnet puts it, "we can still imagine and sympathise with the irritation felt by the plain man of those days at having his legislation done for him by a set of incomprehensible pedants, who made a point of abstaining from beans, and would not let him beat his own dog because they recognised in its howls the voice of a departed friend" (p. 95). With this theory, then, further agrees all that we know regarding the opinions of Pythagoras. What we do know is very little, because his method of instruction was oral rather than literary; but his doctrine of transmigration, associated as it is with a theory of the kinship between men and beasts, and with a system of taboos, becomes intelligible

<sup>1</sup> "Religion of the Semites," First Series, p. 339.

if we regard it as a revival of an obsolete idea, for the purposes of an artificial religious community. Mr Burnet gives numerous examples of the close relation between Pythagorean and savage modes of thought. Yet he holds that Pythagoras cannot be dismissed, and his name deleted from the history of philosophy as a mere medicine-man. That he had a cosmological theory is certain, and Mr Burnet tells us that recent conjectures have gone far to show that it was a fundamental dualism which his mathematical and musical studies led him to harmonise by that theory of *numbers* which marks the later school that bears his name. Whether one accepts it entirely as Mr Burnet has sketched it or not, his reading of Pythagoras has the distinct merit of freshness, and, in the form he gives it, of originality; and it enables him to endorse a recent opinion of Joel, which he quotes, that "the pre-Socratic philosophy is like a dialogue which the Pythagoreans interrupt without knowing what is the subject under discussion" (p. 306).

One would like to linger over the many fresh expositions given by Mr Burnet, but in what remains of my space I can only indicate a few of these. Nowhere does the author's critical faculty excite one's admiration more than in his discussion of the question, Was Xenophanes a monotheist? By an ingenious argument he shows that the view of Xenophanes is a modification of Anaximander's "innumerable worlds," which he called "gods;" and that, as Xenophanes could not believe in anything like a personal god at all, because the conception of Spirit as something different from matter did not yet exist, what Xenophanes proclaimed as the "one God" who is the "greatest among gods," was nothing more nor less than what we call the material world. This is one of Mr Burnet's dexterous arguments which give one the feeling of being just a little more ingenious than stable, and it is reached by a nimble handling of the sources; but as the process goes on before one's eyes in his pages, it is difficult to avoid accepting the deduction, and criticism of a view so carefully reached is perhaps captious. I must admit that one's marks of interrogation at this and other points nearly always disappear on a second reading. The reader must go for himself to Mr Burnet's pages to appreciate his fine account of Herakleitos of Ephesos. I think that one of the most interesting things in the book is the author's version of the fragments of Herakleitos. Apart from their bearing on his philosophical system, these extracts are interesting memorabilia. But Mr Burnet's analysis of them, and his exposition of the theory arising from them, are too complete to be even touched by a quotation. It startles the reader to discover, just in passing, that the phrase, "all things are flowing," which sums up the theology of Herakleitos, is probably not a quotation from the philosopher at all!

If the reader wishes to see the author at his best, let him turn to p. 153, where he moves among the "details of the theory." If he also wishes to get old ideas of Herakleitean philosophy upset, let him watch Mr Burnet, with modest but decisive independence, proving that the theory of a general conflagration, ascribed by most writers to the Ephesian, is not merely irreconcilable with the other views of Herakleitos, but that it is denied by him in so many words! Against an array of authorities who fasten a theology on Herakleitos, Mr Burnet maintains that the attitude of Herakleitos to Religion was one of contemptuous hostility. How Mr Burnet discovers in Parmenides the father of materialism, and sees in his system the beginnings of an interest in Biology; how the view is worked out through the remainder of the volume, that from Parmenides to Plato all philosophical thinkers abandoned the monistic hypothesis; the picture of Empedokles as an Orphic preacher, the carefully sifted text of his fragments, and the opinion advanced that he aimed at mediating between Eleaticism and the evidence of his senses,—all that, and much more in this fascinating book, must be left untouched. Enough has been said to show that in this history of Early Greek Philosophy we have a product of home-grown scholarship of which we do well to be proud. There is all a German's painstaking thoroughness and accuracy in the work, and an utter absence of the ponderous movement of a philosophic treatise. The volume is alive with interest, and lit up on almost every page by flashes of quiet humour and touches of poetic feeling. Mr Burnet has made a difficult subject perfectly intelligible and even fascinating, and we do not wonder that his work has met with such a reception. In this volume he has only cleared the way for further work in the same field which no one is more competent to undertake. St Andrews may be congratulated on the acquisition of such an occupant of its Greek Chair as Professor Burnet.

DAVID PURVES.

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### **Die Evangelische Christenheit und die Juden unter dem Gesichtspunkte der Mission geschichtlich betrachtet.**

*Von Lic. J. F. A. de le Roi, Pastor in Elberfeld. Large 8vo. Vol. I. pp. xiii. 440. Karlsruhe and Leipzig, 1884. Price M. 7. Vol. II. pp. viii. 354. Berlin, 1891. Price M. 5.80. Vol. III. pp. vi. 453. Berlin, 1892. Price M. 7. (Or the complete work, M. 17.50.) London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.*

It is not more than two or three years since the two largest Presbyterian Churches of Scotland were celebrating the jubilee of their

Jewish Missions. Very likely the large majority of those who took an interest in the jubilee proceedings believed that this somewhat despised and unpopular branch of missionary enterprise dates no further back than those fifty and odd years. In 1839, the undivided Church of Scotland sent forth the famous Deputation, consisting of the Rev. Drs Keith and Black and the Revs. Robert Murray M'Cheyne and Andrew A. Bonar, to investigate the condition of the Jews on the Continent, in Turkey, and in the Holy Land, with a view to establishing a mission somewhere among them. The "Narrative of the Deputation" has long been a Christian classic in Scotland, and, considering the interest attaching to it, and to the *personnel* of the deputation, of whom Dr Andrew Bonar still survives, Scottish Christians concerned in advancing the spiritual welfare of Israel may be pardoned if their historical inquiries do not go beyond that time.

These three remarkable volumes, averaging over 400 pages each, widen the horizon so as to leave the reader without excuse for any such limitation. As a history of Jewish Missions, it will be the great work of reference on all questions relating to its subject for years to come. Professor Strack of Berlin, one of our greatest Hebraists, and also one of the warmest supporters of Jewish Missions, declares it to be the weightiest publication in the whole field of Jewish Missions—Delitzsch's Hebrew translation of the New Testament alone excepted. The history is conceived on most comprehensive lines, and in a thoroughly sober and liberal spirit. It is German out and out in its minuteness of detail and its striving after accuracy, and it is written with an attractiveness of style which we do not always find in German writers. Pastor de le Roi, though now Lutheran pastor in Elberfeld, was for some time a missionary in the service of the London Jews' Society, and is a sincere lover of Israel. He has found access to documents furnishing him with valuable materials for the earlier part of his history, and especially the part dealing with the famous *Institutum Judaicum* at Halle in the beginning of the eighteenth century. And, whilst at every step in the course of the early history we see the results of careful research and well-balanced judgment, we have personally reason to know that he has spared no pains to obtain the fullest information as to Jewish Mission work in our own times from the reports of the various Churches and Societies at work in all Continental countries, as well as in Britain and America.

His first volume deals with the subject from the period of the Reformation to the middle of the eighteenth century. According to the method he pursues throughout, he first characterises the condition of the Jews, and the general features of the thought and life of the time; then he describes the efforts made to bring the Gospel home

to the Jews in the various countries where they are found, dwelling at length upon the work of famous missionaries ; and after that he gives sketches of notable converts in the periods and countries under review. Luther's attitude to the Jews claims consideration at the very commencement—how he took up their cause with impulsive zeal, and then, by-and-bye, when they resented his efforts, declared, “next to the devil, the Christian has no more malignant or bitter enemy than the Jew.” Tracing the germ of organised missionary effort on behalf of the Jews to Esdras Edzard of Hamburg, and showing its development, through the Pietists Spener and Francke, in the *Judaicum Institutum* at Halle under Callenberg, he devotes the larger portion of the first volume to that noble institution, and to the missionary zeal and the intellectual gifts and the romantic adventures which make the period of the Halle Institute the *Blüthezeit* of Jewish Missions. The sterling piety of Callenberg, his organising power, his translations into Judæo-German and into pure Hebrew, his numerous converts from Judaism ; the ardour of Stephanus Schultz, the most remarkable of the missionaries, a man of twenty languages, who travelled all over Eastern Europe and in Egypt, Asia Minor, and Palestine ; the wonderful conversions and the wide-spread influence of the institute—are all described with a zest and a skill which carry the reader easily on. Nor are Count Zinzendorf's labours on behalf of Israel forgotten. He roused the interest of the Moravian Brethren in the cause of Jewish Missions, and they have the distinction of being not only the first Church, as a Church, to promote missions to the heathen, but also the first to take up Jewish Mission effort.

The second volume describes the condition of the Jews and the work of Jewish Missions in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and then goes on to deal with the Jews of the Continent in the nineteenth century. The latter half of the eighteenth century was the time of the *Aufklärung*, the time of English Deism and of the French Encyclopædists, the influence of which told upon the Jewish as well as the Christian thought of the period. Moses Mendelssohn, whom, next after Moses Maimonides, the Jews call their third Moses, was the medium through which these influences reached the leading circles of Jewish thought and life. He brought those who accepted his views within the range of Christian influence, and although the Christian mind at that time was largely humanist and rationalistic, still, by contact with it, many Jews were drawn nearer to the heart of vital Christianity. It is a remarkable fact that, though Moses Mendelssohn himself remained outside the pale of Christianity, his whole house in course of time went over to it ; his grandson, Felix Mendelssohn, the famous composer, being no mere nominal adherent of Christianity, but a



convinced and earnest Christian. The early part of the nineteenth century saw large numbers of conversions from Judaism to Christianity. We have mentioned Mendelssohn the composer, and the list of other remarkable men who, being born Jews, left the Synagogue for the Church, and achieved a European reputation, is remarkable. De le Roi gives a full account of them, with sketches of the more remarkable. Caspari and Paulus Stephen Cassel, the commentators; Neander, the Church historian, whose Jewish name was Mendel; Friedrich Adolph Philippi, the great expounder of Lutheran theology, and others represent German theology in the list. Of German scholars and philologists, we have Theodor Benfey, and Gottfried Bernhardt, and Ebers the Egyptologist, and others. Stahl, the famous jurist; Lindau the physician, and his son, Paul Lindau, the well-known and still living literateur; Heine, the poet; Karl Marx, the Socialist; Edward Schnitzer, better known as Emin Pasha, were all Jewish proselytes of German birth. From Holland we have Cappadose and Da Costa; from Denmark, Kalkar, the missionary editor and historian; and from Hungary, Vambery, the traveller. In Britain we have had Isaac Disraeli and his distinguished son; George J. Goschen, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Rev. Ridley Herschell and his son, Lord Herschell; Sir Julius Benedict and John Brahms, the well-known musicians; Leone Levi, the statistician; Joseph Wolff, the well-known Central Asian missionary and traveller, whose son, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, has taken such a high place as a diplomatist; Adolph Saphir and Alfred Edersheim, and Christian D. Ginsburg, eminent Biblical scholars and divines—all either direct proselytes to Christianity or the immediate descendants of those who were.

In his second volume De le Roi discusses the Jewish question, which remains a burning question in Russia and Germany still. And he is quite frank in dealing with the faults of the Jews. By statistics which there is no reason to doubt, he shows that in Russia and Roumania the drink traffic is largely in the hands of Jews, while in St Petersburg they manage a large proportion of the houses of bad fame. In many of the country districts of Russia, Austria, and Hungary, the land is hypothecated to the Jews by the nominal proprietors mostly for debts incurred by drink. There is little heard of these things when we hear of riots and persecutions raised against the Jews. "The persecutions," says De la Roi, "to which in the end the completely cleaned out and ruined Christians have allowed themselves to be driven, have been taken up by the Jewish press without a word of blame for the Jewish authors of their distresses, who are held up to sympathy as innocent Jewish martyrs, while the suffering Russian peasantry are held up to reprobation." As regards the anti-Semitic movement

in Germany, De le Roi regards it as a movement of self-defence against Jewish Liberalism and aggressiveness in politics and every sphere of life. He quotes utterances of Jewish representative men to show to what a height this spirit had risen, and he justifies Stöcker for the part he took in the movement, and for which he has been so severely blamed. Of Stöcker's honesty there cannot be a doubt; and if he did now and then weaken his defence by strong language, his conduct has been throughout that of a true lover of the fatherland, and of a zealous and earnest Christian man. While De le Roi discusses these aspects of the Jewish question, he does not allow more distinctly Christian movements to escape him. The work associated with the names of Joseph Rabinowitz and Rabbi Lichtenstein, the schemes for providing for Jewish refugees on the soil of Palestine, and other similar efforts, are cordially noticed.

We have only space for a word on the third volume, newly issued. It describes the work of some ten British Societies, especially that of the London Jews' Society, and the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews. The former was founded in 1809, at the instance of Christian Friedrich Frey, himself a convert from Judaism, and an indefatigable worker in the cause of Christian missions to Israel; and it received, in 1813, the patronage of the Duke of Kent, the father of the Queen. In its service laboured a notable man, the Rev. Lewis Way; the great Hebraist, Alexander M'Caul; Michael Salomon Alexander, afterwards Bishop of Jerusalem, and others. The British Society was called into life by a gift of £100 from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, at the instance of M'Cheyne and the Bonars; and it was constituted in 1842 in the vestry of the Scotch Church at Regent Square, then under the care of Dr James Hamilton. In this volume there are short sketches of the Jewish Missions of the Church of Scotland and the Free Church. In connection with the commencement of the Mission of the undivided Church, he tells of the almost Pentecostal blessing which rested upon it at the first; and in continuing his narrative of the Free Church Mission, he gives an account of Adolph Saphir, and Alfred Edersheim, and Theodor Meyer and other notable converts. He brings his account so far down to date as to notice the conversion of Hermann Warsawiak, under the guidance of the Rev. Daniel Edward, at Breslau—one of the original band sent to Hungary in 1841—and he refers to Warsawiak's very remarkable work in New York during the past year. His criticisms of the working of the Missions are just, and worthy of the notice of those intrusted with their management. It is worth while mentioning in this reference that the Jewish Committees of the Church of Scotland and the Free Church have purchased six copies each of this remarkable book for use at home

and for use at their various stations abroad. We could wish that others would do likewise, for the book can scarcely fail to be a source of inspiration to all interested in the cause of Israel, and a magazine of principles which have been tested in the two hundred years and more of organised Jewish Mission enterprise here passed in review.

THOMAS NICOL.

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### **Ethica ; or, The Ethics of Reason.**

*By Scotus Novanticus. Second Edition, revised and extended.*  
*London : Williams & Norgate. Crown 8vo, pp. 356.*  
*Price 6s.*

PROFESSOR LAURIE'S "Ethica" is one of the few books to which one may apply Topsy's celebrated description of herself, "I guess I wasn't made ; I'se growed." It is a "live" treatise, which should have enduring, though possibly slowly achieved, influence. Like all such books, it has the faults of its virtue, if one may so speak,—it lacks what is commonly deemed orderliness. In one sense it has undergone almost too much pruning—rhetorical ornament is conspicuous by its absence ; yet the book would not have been injured had the vitality everywhere present in it expressed itself a little less ruggedly. It resembles rather what Germans call an *English* garden or park, than the geometrically arranged and neatly trimmed ethical systems, which mostly come into the market. I have read it with some of the excitement that people generally associate exclusively with novels—though, be it said, there is no excitement worthy to be compared with that caused by a scientific treatise that has really grown ;—not, indeed, without criticism of details, both of terminology, style, and matter, yet with so hearty agreement as to the general lines pursued and the great features of the system expounded, that the spirit of criticism was almost suppressed.

The work, despite many recapitulations—which are far from being needless or of the nature of "padding"—is so full of matter, so condensed, that to give a proper account of it would be greatly to transgress the limits assigned to a review, especially as at not a few points it presupposes an acquaintance with the author's "*Metaphysica Nova et Vetusta*." But I will endeavour—at some risk of failure—to indicate the point of view and main drift, as far as possible in the author's own words.

The foremost and fundamental difference between "Ethica" and most certainly, if not all, other works on Ethics, is, that instead of isolating the *moral nature* of man, as it is often unfortunately termed,

with its problems, he begins with the whole man as an "organic intelligent unit which is also a unit of the larger organism of society ;" with man, as a complex organism, material, moral, intellectual. "If we desire to be able to speak intelligently of either man or mollusc, we must first know the man or mollusc, and regard such as an individual organism, having certain innate capacities, aptitudes, and ends which it seeks to fulfil, and which for it is the good." The fundamental difference between the "man-organism" and the myriad others in the world is that whereas the latter are "co-ordinated to their end by Nature ; man, through the emergence of will and reason in him, is thereby constituted the co-ordinator of his own organism." The end of every such existence is its own realisation :—in man's case realisation of the self by the self. "The nature and conditions of self-realisation for man are to be found in his nature and in his relations to the rest of creation ;" or, as I should prefer saying, probably in real agreement with the writer, in his relations to the *universe as including both "creation" and God*. "Self-realisation for any organism is 'the good' for that organism. Man has to find 'the good' for himself." At the beginning he is a complex or aggregate of impulses, propensions, desires, emotions, termed, in general, feelings ; this "raw material," or these real elements and their relations are to be arranged and regulated by the man, who, as will, is the centre of his own organism, in such a way as to secure the realisation of himself and thus to constitute himself a moral being. What is the nature of this end, this self-realisation which is man's good ? How is the end to be attained ? How is he to know that the end is being attained ? As a self-conscious organism man can only realise himself through the self-conscious conception both of the supreme end and of the subordinate ends—which ends constitute as such the law by which he is to be governed. Now, the supreme or *formal* end and law is, that will-reason, in other words, will actualising itself in and through reason, should *dominate* in him. In fact, it is only as it does this that he is moral at all in the true and proper sense.

But what is the *real* end ? The *real* end of the "feeling-organism," that is, of the complex of impulses, desires, and potencies is *harmony* ; through harmony it becomes what it is intended to be. Another description of this chief good—the best we are told—is, "*Fulness of life achieved through law by the action of will as reason on Sensibility*." But as the impulses and desires only reveal themselves in feeling, the criterion of the truth of their inter-relations can be ultimately found solely in feeling. During the process of adjustment undertaken by the will-reason more or less of pain may, it is true, arise ; but the ultimate criterion of the attainment of the end must after all be a feeling of peace guaranteed by law. If it

be objected that this new *organised* pleasure is thus made the real object of search, and that consequently the system is one of Hedonism, the author replies, no ; it is the *organisation* of pleasure—the *law* which is revealed through the feelings which tell us that the “good” of our nature is attained ; not the feelings themselves ; not pathological satisfaction ; not the satisfaction of desire or emotion in itself ; but *law in appetition* as indicated by, and learnt through, feeling—feeling, *i.e.*, of harmony.

But it may further be retorted that, if self-realisation be the true end of man's free activity, the system is, after all, only a higher form of egoism—egoism under the cloak of search for and fulfilment of the law or idea of his being. Professor Laurie replies by pointing to the fact that man is not merely an organic intelligent *unit*, but a unit of an *organism*,—to wit, society. There are in him, as, indeed, in a crude and elementary form there are in animals, as primary feelings, “goodwill and love of goodwill,” which are essentially altruistic,—impulses or desires which incite to do what involves the well-being of others, and which differ, therefore, from the self-regarding impulses. Even the love of approbation makes well-being dependent on the goodwill of others. All desire has, indeed, its *terminal* point—not its *end* proper—in the satisfaction of desire ; even the altruistic desires and emotions “terminate” in the satisfaction of emotion ; that is, in the subject ; their *terminal*, however, is not their *end*. But, besides essentially involving the well-being of others, so far as even their “terminal” can only be reached in and through that well-being, these altruistic emotions are not only greater in quantity, but also higher in quality than those which are self-regarding :—the former, “because we are conscious that they involve the well-being of others as well as of ourselves ;” the latter, “because we are so constituted, that we *feel* them to be higher, just as to man, as he now is,” “the satisfaction of the feeling of the beautiful is of higher quality than the gratification of the appetite.”

But I must hasten to a conclusion. I should have liked to dwell on Professor Laurie's account of how the *must* of natural law passes into the *ought* of moral law ; on his deduction of the idea and place of *justice* ; on his view of free will, and of the distinction between will and volition, the former of which, he thinks, exhausts itself, in the affirmation of idea, motive and law, and brings no new energy into the world of the phenomenal, but simply regulates and commands the direction in which physical energy is to be discharged, whereas the latter, also termed “doing,” is inextricably involved in the matter and energy of the physical universe, and is subject, therefore, to the conditions thereby imposed ; on his admirable criticism of the Hedonistic and Intuitional systems ; on the

sound position he takes up towards evolution ; and, finally, on the profound thoughts which are thrown out regarding the relation of reason and conscience to God—"religion" receives the scurvy treatment which, alas ! it only too frequently deserves ;—but my space is exhausted. One remark, however, involving a criticism, I should like to add, namely, that the rationality of Professor Laurie's position is somewhat obscured by his use of the word "feeling." If, instead of the term "feeling," through which the constitutive "potencies" of the man-organism are revealed to consciousness, he had kept to the metaphysical term potencies—which, and equivalents of which, do occasionally occur—the awkwardness of treating feeling as the criterion of itself would have been avoided ; for a true criterion, surely, should be something other than that of which it is the test. The fact is, as I conceive of the matter, "feelings," in the strict sense of the word, as denoting modes of pain and pleasure, form one class of the criteria by which self-conscious man ascertains, *first*, what the law of conduct is ; and, *secondly*, whether his organism is realising its idea. Most moralists err by confounding criteria with law or end ; and the principles of the various moral systems are in reality nothing but the various criteria or classes of criteria by which right and wrong are discriminated *in concreto*. From Professor Laurie's general point of view this fatal confusion is readily avoided.

I beg, in conclusion, for myself, to thank the author for the variety of instruction, stimulus, and enjoyment which his work has afforded me.

D. W. SIMON.

### **Commentary on St Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians.**

*By Rev. John Macpherson, M.A., Findhorn. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. vi. 445. Price 10s. 6d.*

MUCH attention has been given of late to the Epistle to the Ephesians. None of the Epistles ascribed to Paul better deserve this, and none will more richly repay the closest study. But it is not every interpreter that will see his way into it, and give us back its spirit. The men are few and far between who have the variety of gifts demanded for its adequate exposition. The literary and critical questions are so difficult, and the doctrinal contents are of such weight. It is gratifying that British scholars are contributing to its interpretation, and that men of very different gifts are giving us their mind upon its problems and its purpose. It is satisfactory, too, to see that the critical questions are not being allowed to absorb attention, but that the theology of the Epistle is also being carefully studied. And the theology of this majestic letter, interesting as it is for its sweep and its magnitude, is the

more interesting for the fact that every doctrinal question which comes into view in it is related so directly to the supreme Christian Doctrine of God.

Mr Macpherson has some of the most serviceable gifts which the interpreter of an Epistle like this requires. He has, above all, the gifts that wear well. He has patience, industry, and whole-hearted sympathy with the theology of the Epistle. He has spent years of devoted labour on this profound composition, and his book is a solid and honest piece of work. It makes no claim to novelty in its methods or results, and it has no surprising theories to dangle before the eyes of the curious. But it will rank among the most painstaking and useful of recent expositions of the Epistle.

Mr Macpherson's aim is to examine all the questions of textual and grammatical criticism which are of real moment, to investigate minutely the meaning of each phrase, and at the same time to exhibit not only the march of the argument, but the "development of spiritual and experimental truth." He has largely succeeded in his aim. He leaves little unnoticed that is of any importance. If he errs at all, it is not on the side of omission.

The literary and historical questions are discussed with great wealth of reading in an Introduction which extends over more than one hundred pages. The strength of the external testimony to the Pauline authorship is forcibly put. The main objections drawn from internal phenomena are fairly, though not exhaustively, considered. The conclusion reached is that there is nothing to shake our confidence in the consentient witness of tradition, and that the late period to which the Epistle belongs, and the circumstances of the "well-trained and highly-gifted community" to which it is addressed, sufficiently account for the acknowledged peculiarities of style and teaching. The author also holds strongly by the traditional view of the destination of the Epistle. As to its date, he argues in favour of the priority of *Colossians* to *Ephesians*, assigning these two Epistles (along with *Philemon*) to the first Roman imprisonment, and placing them at the end of A.D. 61 or the beginning of A.D. 62, but referring *Philippians* to the Caesarean captivity. Many incidental questions are touched upon in the Introduction, such as the silver shrines and the fighting with wild beasts; on which last, notwithstanding the difficulty created by Paul's Roman citizenship, Mr Macpherson adheres to the literal interpretation.

The Commentary itself is done with much thoroughness and with ample learning. The great doctrinal passages furnish the best examples of Mr Macpherson's skill. One section of the book, that on the *Character and Type of Doctrine*, might with advantage have gone more fully than it does into the great

questions with which it deals. But so far as it goes, it gives a fair statement of the existence of Pauline doctrine in the Epistle, and of that doctrine in its most developed form. It is of most value, however, as a criticism of Köstlin and Pfleiderer, and as an exhibition of the difficulties attaching to the theory that the Epistle is the work of a later Paulinist in whom the earlier Paulinism has combined with forms of Johannine doctrine.

Mr Macpherson's notes upon the great doctrinal terms of the Epistle are generally excellent. Good examples of his way of looking at these will be found in what he says of *κληρονομία*, *ἀπολύτρωσις*, *εὐδοκία*, *υἰοθεσία*, *προορίζειν*, and many more. He regards the doctrine of redemption which appears in this Epistle as essentially the same as that which is given more fully in Romans iii. and Hebrew ix., the point of it being, that what constitutes our redemption is Christ's sacrificial or atoning death. He sets forth, in its length and breadth, the Pauline doctrine of forgiveness, and combats, with real insight into the teaching of the Epistle, the various attempts made to reduce that doctrine, or philosophise it out of the Pauline writings. By a careful and faithful exegesis of the leading passages, such as that in Ch. i. 7, he refutes, for example, Pfleiderer's theory that the idea of the Divine wrath which had been kept in due relation to the Divine love in the early Pauline doctrine, had come, by the time when this Epistle was written, to be treated too abstractly, and that in this way had originated the conception of a satisfaction which Christ had to make to Satan. He rightly protests against the association into which Pfleiderer brings the later form of the Pauline doctrine with the theory of a redemption price paid to the devil. "As God only can forgive sins," he remarks on Ch. i. 7, "the identification of forgiveness with redemption associates directly with God both the act of redemption and the ransom. To God it is paid, by Him it is accepted, and by Him also it is recognised as bringing to those for whom it has been paid the forgiveness of sin." As Mr Macpherson finds the Protestant idea of Pardon in this Epistle, so he finds in it generally the form of doctrine known as the Calvinistic. And in this we judge him right, so far as the broad foundations and large outlines are concerned. Modern exegesis, no doubt, is capable of almost any feat and our interpreters who are resolved to see nothing in Christianity but a new ethics, or to adjust all that is in the Pauline writings to their notions of *tendency*, can perform as wonderful transformations of Paul's meaning as any allegorising Father. But it is difficult even thus to make this strenuous, theological Epistle speak the voice of modern philosophy on the themes of the Divine purpose and will.

There are some things in the Introduction to which exception



may be taken. The discussion of the explanation of the Epistle as an encyclical is not quite satisfactory, and the conservatism which in most cases is substantially right in its conclusions on the literary problems, is sometimes too absolutely put. There are also a good many things in the exegesis which are open to question, particularly with regard to quotations (as in iv. 8, 14), and certain forms of Greek construction. It could scarcely be otherwise. But there is much of a different kind. We might refer, for example, to the discussion of the "enlightened," in i. 18; the greatly disputed phrase "by nature the children of wrath," in ii. 3; the "having slain the enmity in it," in ii. 16; the "dispensation of the grace of God," in iii. 3; the "one Lord, one faith, one baptism," in iv. 5; the "by that which every joint supplieth," in iv. 16; the "sanctifying," in v. 26.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

### **Die Göttliche Zuvorersehung und Erzählung in ihrer Bedeutung für den Heilsstand des einzelnen Gläubigen nach dem Evangelium des Paulus.**

*Eine biblisch-theologische Untersuchung von Karl Müller, Lic. Theol. Halle: Niemeyer. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 155. Price M. 3.*

THIS inquiry in Biblical Theology is a piece of excellent work, and a real contribution to the understanding of the important subject with which it deals; and it is so all the more, because it is strictly limited to a certain part of the great problem of the divine purpose. It deals only with the teaching of Paul, and in his teaching, only with what regards God's purpose as to the salvation of believers; but the author shows that this forms not a mere incidental statement, but an essential part of the Gospel as Paul preached it. In the first part of this treatise, he gives a continuous exposition of the meaning and connection of Paul's principal ideas on this subject; and then, in a series of four *Excursus*, he discusses more minutely the principal exegetical points on which the controversy in the Church has turned. The exposition in the first part starts from the place which the statement of the predestination of believers in Rom. viii. 28 *et seq.* occupies in the general line of thought in the Epistle; and it is pointed out, that it comes not at the beginning, but only after the exposition of the way of salvation through the historical work of Christ; that it is brought in for the practical purpose of assuring believers, amid the terrible trials and temptations to which they were exposed, of the certainty of their salvation; and that the statements about the divine purpose in Rom. ix.-xi. form the ground of the practical exhortations to Christian life in Rom. xii.-xv. It is thus shown that the Pauline doctrine of predestination to life is

not a general metaphysical speculation, but a moral and religious conviction, founded on Christian experience, and forming a natural counterpart to the central Pauline doctrine of justification by grace through faith. At the same time, the author holds that the predestination of individual believers is not separate in Paul's mind from the historical life and work of Christ, and pre-supposes that universal purpose of gathering together all things in Him which the apostle repeatedly asserts. The notion of two co-ordinate purposes, of salvation for some, and reprobation for others, is not a Pauline one: the object of the general purpose of God is the human race as a whole, united in Christ the last Adam; while, along with this, there is a particular purpose of actual salvation for those who are effectually called by God's grace. In the course of the exposition of these ideas, Herr Müller discusses the meaning in Paul's thought of the terms Calling, Foreknowledge, Election, Predestination, and in the *Excursus* he enters more fully into the exegesis and history of interpretation of the more important words and passages, in the course of which he shows that the Arminian views of Calling as merely the Gospel invitation, and Predestination, as founded on the foresight of faith, are exegetically untenable, and inconsistent with the teaching of Paul as a whole. These exegetical discussions are careful and scholarly, giving special prominence to the history of the several interpretations in different doctrinal schools, and noticing English works much more fully than is usually done by German theologians. The treatise, as a whole, is a powerful and valuable plea for that view of Paul's teaching which regards it as what is called moderate Calvinism, holding an unconditional predestination of the elect to life, but no unconditional fore-ordination of any to death, and basing the doctrine, not on metaphysical reasonings about the infinite power, knowledge, and sovereignty of God, but upon the freeness and power of the grace of God in conversion, which is to the Christian a matter of direct spiritual experience. The bringing out of this last point is one great excellence in Herr Müller's work. He bases his conclusions mainly on Rom. viii., and the parallel statements in other Epistles, and shows how vitally these utterances of faith in God's eternal purpose of election are connected with Paul's Gospel as a whole, and its central doctrine of justification by faith. The harder sayings in Rom. ix. he touches more lightly, and he regards the sovereign election of Jacob and rejection of Esau as having reference to the privilege of being the historical organ of God's work of salvation. No doubt, the establishment of the true meaning of Paul's teaching, to which this work is a valuable contribution, is but one part of the great theological discussion that has divided Christian thinkers for ages, and there are difficulties and perplexities even in trying to enter

into all Paul's thoughts; but the theological public may cordially welcome this discussion of one of the points with which a sound investigation of the subject must begin. J. S. CANDLISH.

**Die Rechtfertigungslehre der Professoren der Theologie Johann Tobias Beck, O. F. Myrberg und A. W. Ingman geprüft und beleuchtet von mehreren evangelischen Theologen und von E. T. Gestrin, Probst und Pastor zu Lavia in Finnland.**

*Berlin: Wiegandt u. Greben. 8vo, pp. 127. Price M. 1.60.*

IT seems that the views of the illustrious Beck of Tübingen have been adopted and taught by the Swedish Professor Myrberg at Upsala, and the Finnish Professor Ingman at Helsingfors; and this pamphlet is a polemic against their doctrine of justification, in so far as it deviates from the Protestant Confessions by making faith, or the new life of the soul, the ground of it. The author is undoubtedly right in holding, and has no difficulty in showing, that this is not the doctrine either of the Reformers or of Paul; but, as is usual in such cases, he is rather too vehement in his attack, and relies somewhat too much on human and ecclesiastical authorities. The treatise contributes nothing of importance to the discussion of the subject. J. S. CANDLISH.

**Notices.**

To the series of *Books for Bible Students*, Professor Findlay contributes a brief but admirably executed sketch of the *Epistles of Paul*. With great fulness of knowledge, and in a vigorous style, he describes how these writings came into being, and what place they filled in Paul's life, determining as far as possible their order, the occasions which called them forth, their several characteristics and purposes, and the historical unity which they make when thus considered. He takes the four evangelical Epistles in this order—I. Corinthians, II. Corinthians, Galatians, Romans. He places Philippians last in the list of Epistles of the First Imprisonment. The Epistle to the Hebrews is separately dealt with. He has given some well-considered remarks on the growth of Paul's doctrine. He finds "variety, elasticity, logical development, adaptation to changing conditions, and at the same time an entire unity of organic life and mental structure." The Epistles of the third group show Paul's theology at its full stature. It

<sup>1</sup> The Epistles of the Apostle Paul: a Sketch of their Origin and Contents. By George G. Findlay, B.A. London: C. H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 287. Price 2s. 6d.

has become by this time an organic unity. Among these Epistles, that to the Philippians is held to sum up, in a certain sense, the "doctrinal development of the letters which preceded it," while the *Pastoral Epistles* "set his final seal upon the teaching of his life." This modest volume is of more real worth than some large and imposing books, which might be easily named, on the same subject.

From the same writer we have an exposition of the *Epistle to the Ephesians*,<sup>1</sup> which makes one of the best contributions to the New Testament division of the *Expositor's Bible*. Professor Findlay's gifts of exegesis, historical insight, and popular statement are seen at their best here. The great theological ideas of the Epistle have justice done them. What is said on such topics as "the elect," "reconciliation," "forgiveness and its price," "Christ the fulness of God," is admirably said. The Pauline qualities of the letter, and the fundamental resemblance which underlies all the differences between it and that to the Galatians, are touched with a rapid but experienced hand. The moral teaching of the Epistle is handled not less successfully than the doctrinal. Of special interest is the chapter on *Doctrine and Ethics*, which deals with the originality of Christian ethics, the four principles of Pauline ethics, personality and morals, the ethical character of Christ's forgiveness, and kindred subjects. For plain, direct force, perfect sanity of understanding, and fidelity to Paul's ideas, the book is like Mr Denney's excellent exposition of the Epistles to the Thessalonians. Mr Findlay, it should be added, adopts the encyclical theory, and expounds the Epistle as *the General Epistle of Paul to the Churches of Asia*, or to *Ephesus and its daughter Churches*. He follows this rendering of the address, without the local designation,—to the *Saints who are indeed faithful in Christ Jesus*.

Dr Dods completes his Exposition of the Fourth Gospel for the same series.<sup>2</sup> The first volume was reviewed at length in these pages, and it is unnecessary to repeat what was then said of the writer's exceptional qualifications for the interpretation of John's Gospel. This second volume takes us from the Anointing of Jesus through all the closing scenes. These scenes, and the words of Jesus spoken in connection with them, are expounded with the reverence which they demand, and with the insight, at once historical and spiritual, which was conspicuous in the former volume. Where all is so good, it is not easy to say what is best. But there is at least nothing better than the chapters on the Resurrection, Thomas' Test, the Appearance at the Sea of Galilee, and Peter's

<sup>1</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiii. 440. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> The Gospel of St John. By Marcus Dods, D.D. In Two Volumes. Vol. II. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 427. Price 7s. 6d.

Restoration. Nor is what is said of the corn of wheat and the sufferings of Christ less worthy. All through the volume, too, we come upon those deep soundings of human character and life which we have become accustomed to look for in Dr Dods's writings.

Two volumes deserve favourable mention as helps to understanding the processes and first results of Pentateuchal criticism. One is from England, the other is from America. Both deal with the book of *Genesis*, and both have the same object in view. Mr Fripp's book<sup>1</sup> consists in part of matter contributed to Stadel's *Zeitschrift*. In a brief but very lucid Introduction he explains the different constituents which criticism discovers in the "great historico-legislative work" of which *Genesis* is the first section. The bulk of the volume is then devoted to an attempt to disentangle these different elements, and make the composite character of the narrative patent to the eye. A running analysis is given at the foot of the pages. Professor Bissell's book<sup>2</sup> follows substantially the same plan, but wants the analysis. The different strata of narrative in *Genesis* are indicated by different kinds of type in Mr Fripp's book. Professor Bissell's has the advantage of printing in different colours of type. Both books appear to be carefully prepared. Both are the work of scholarly men, and enable us, as no amount of writing can, to see what *Genesis* becomes on the critical theory. Professor Bissell's concise summary of the arguments in favour of the critical reconstruction will also be useful to those who are not familiar with the question.

Mr Litton's outline of *Dogmatic Theology*<sup>3</sup> is completed by the publication of the second volume. The subjects treated in this part are the Order of Salvation, the Communion of Saints, and Eschatology. They are expounded in harmony with the Thirty-Nine Articles, and these Articles are themselves understood as Protestant Articles belonging to the side of the Reformed branch of Protestantism rather than the Lutheran. In this construction of the great symbol of the English Church, Mr Litton is, we believe, correct. His theological system is that of one who adheres with the utmost strength of conviction to what he holds to be the historical Protestant faith of England, and is in pronounced antagonism to the *via media* theology. He adopts the useful

<sup>1</sup> The Composition of the Book of *Genesis*. With English Text and Analysis. By Edgar Innes Fripp, B.A. London: David Nutt. 12mo, pp. 198. Price 4s.

<sup>2</sup> *Genesis*, printed in colours, showing the original sources from which it is supposed to have been compiled. With an Introduction. By Edward Cone Bissell, Hartford, Connecticut. Pp. xiv. 59. Price \$1.25.

<sup>3</sup> Introduction to *Dogmatic Theology*. On the Basis of the XXXIX. Articles of the Church of England. By the Rev. E. A. Litton, M.A. London: Elliot Stock. 8vo, pp. vii. 393. Price 7s. 6d.

method of comparing the statements on each topic as given in the Thirty-Nine Articles with the corresponding statements in other authoritative symbols. There is nothing very novel or brilliant in the volume, but there is a great deal that will make it a very serviceable handbook. It follows the usual lines of evangelical dogmatics of the Reformed type. It makes much, however, of a mission of mercy on which Christ is supposed to have proceeded to Hades after His resurrection, and adopts the position that Scripture "does not compel us to believe that all probation ends with the present life."

Another *Manual of Theology*<sup>1</sup> which contrasts strongly with Mr Litton's, is published by Mr Strong of Christ Church, Oxford. It belongs to a very different school, with a very different idea of Church and Sacraments. It has much less learning, but it is more modern in method and in spirit. Its principle is substantially the Christo-centric, the principle which has vivified many theologies. It proceeds upon the conception of Christian theology as starting with the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. Its method is this. Assuming the fact of the Incarnation, it aims at showing first, that the Incarnation is the outcome and explanation of all the efforts made by the different races to know God; secondly, its coherence with the claims of Christ for Himself; thirdly, its connection with the doctrine of the Trinity; fourthly, its relation with the human race; and lastly, its extension and continuance in the world by means of the Church and the Sacraments. By this the writer hopes to cover all the articles of the Christian faith. The idea is an ingenious one. But it is not sufficiently scientific to permit of a natural and intelligible co-ordination of the different points of doctrine. Some topics get an unduly limited position; others are peculiarly placed. The great *locus* of the Last Things, for example, is unhappily broken up, and obtains meagre and fragmentary consideration. The questions which seem to us to be most successfully dealt with are those concerning the Person of Christ, the Trinity, and the Incarnation itself; those of which the opposite must be said are those relating to Sin. The book is welcome as a scholarly and earnest attempt to restate theology in relation to modern thought. It is welcome also as a token of a reviving interest in the great doctrines of the Christian religion.

At present we can but mention Professor Sanday's two sermons on *Biblical Criticism* and the *Social Movement*,<sup>2</sup> the former of which is a seasonable plea for the formation of a national school

<sup>1</sup> A Manual of Theology. By Thomas B. Strong, M.A. London and Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 424. Price 5s.

<sup>2</sup> Two Present Day Questions, &c. London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo., pp. 72. Price 2s. 6d.

of criticism, while the latter deals wisely with the attitude of the clergy to social questions; Dr Newman Hall's *Divine Brotherhood*, a collection of small tractates published from time to time during the last half century, a welcome memorial of a long and honourable ministry;<sup>1</sup> and the handbook on *Life and Conduct* by Dr Cameron Lees, intended chiefly for the help of young people, and applying in simple, practical style the principles of religion to the great concerns of everyday life in Character, Time, Money, Recreation, &c.<sup>2</sup>

Mr Bonney's *Boyle Lectures*<sup>3</sup> may be classed in some respects with Mr Harrison's *Problems of Christianity and Scepticism*.<sup>4</sup> There is a boldness, conjoined with remarkable sympathy and generosity towards the sceptic, which gives the latter book a place of its own in the evidential literature of the time. It is the work of one who himself has passed through the experience of doubt in which he seeks to help others. Notwithstanding its exaggerated estimate of Mr Herbert Spencer, and its almost slavish submission to his philosophy, it has qualities both intellectual and moral which make it one of the weightiest and most opportune contributions to popular Apologetics. Mr Bonney has the advantage of a superior knowledge of science in some of its branches, and he, too, brings to his task a hopeful and sympathetic mind. His object is to show that the Christian faith, in its presuppositions and in its cardinal doctrines, suffers nothing from the progress of science and the changes thereby wrought on the general view of the universe, but in some things has rather gained. He deals first with the great subject of the *Logos*, presenting it as the safeguard against Pantheism on the one hand and Dualism on the other. Here he brings into the defence of the doctrine the scientific theory of vortex rings in the explanation of what matter is. He passes on to the consideration of the doctrines of the Holy Spirit, the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Resurrection, the Sacraments, and the Church. In each case he proceeds on the assumption of the reality of Revelation, and applies the analogies of science to the explanation and defence of the doctrine. These analogies are not all of the same value. Those taken from chemical phenomena and applied to the mystery of the Trinity are the least successful. But in other cases, particularly in regard to the credibility of a bodily resurrection, they are of force. To a certain type of mind the book will be most welcome and helpful.

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 281. Price 4s.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh and London: A. & C. Black. Pp. 114. Price 6d. net.

<sup>3</sup> Christian Doctrine and Modern Thought. By T. G. Bonney, D.Sc. London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 175. Price 5s.

<sup>4</sup> London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvii. 340. Price 7s. 6d.

There are several books which are welcome in new editions. Canon Driver's *Introduction*<sup>1</sup> has already reached its fourth British edition, a striking testimony to the worth of the book, and to the widespread interest in Old Testament questions.

Weizsäcker's *Das Apostolische Zeitalter der Christlichen Kirche*<sup>2</sup> appears in a second edition. The book is revised, but remains substantially the same. The theory elaborated in the book is one of great interest, and it is skilfully presented. Weizsäcker has the gift of lucid, orderly exposition, as well as bold thinking. We cannot regard the theory, even when put at its best, as an adequate explanation of the origin and development of the Primitive Church; but it certainly has important points of advantage, not only over Baur's, to which it is so far akin, but over the competing theories of Weiss and Pfleiderer. It is a less prosaic version than that given by Weiss, and it avoids the exaggerated idea of Paulinism and the Greek element to which Pfleiderer commits himself. The supposed conflict of parties and tendencies is also reduced to something very different from the original Tübingen construction of it. Weizsäcker's recognition of a more extensive sympathy with Christ's universalism, and a less obdurate Judaism among the original apostles and the first disciples, puts a new face on the whole question.

We have also the third edition of Holtzmann's *Introduction to the New Testament*.<sup>3</sup> The book has been thoroughly revised and brought up to date. It gives not only the special Introduction to the several books, but also summaries of the history of the Text and the history of the Canon. In Textual Criticism, the author has had the valuable help of Dr C. R. Gregory. The apocryphal books of the New Testament are also dealt with. It is unnecessary to speak of the critical standpoint of the book. We dissent from much that is said on the Fourth Gospel, the Pastoral Epistles, and others of the Canonical writings; but the volume is one that has to be reckoned with by every New Testament scholar. It is of great value, not only for the digests it gives of inquiry on many different subjects, but as an exceedingly lucid and systematic statement of the construction put by one powerful critical school upon the rise of the New Testament literature.

<sup>1</sup> An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament. By S. R. Driver, D.D. Fourth Edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. xxxvi. 543. Price 12s.

<sup>2</sup> Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 700. Price M. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das Neue Testament. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo. pp. xvi. 508. Price M. 9.



The new volume of *The Expositor*<sup>1</sup> has more variety of contents than usual. It has no group of papers comparable in point of original interest to those in which Professor Marshall handled the *Aramaic Gospel*. But, in addition to Dean Chadwick's pleasing studies of some of the Gospel Miracles, and Professor Beet's inquiry into the New Testament Doctrine of the Atonement, we have two sets of articles that deserve particular notice. The one consists of Professor G. A. Smith's sketches of the *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, to which we are indebted for skilful and picturesque descriptions of the natural features, the capabilities, and the historical interest of the Shephelah, the Central Range, and Judæa. The other is the series by Professor Sanday on the *Present Position of the Johannean Question*. There is no English scholar entitled to speak with more authority on this subject than Professor Sanday, and scarcely any one so able to do it with point and lucidity. The criticisms of Schürer, the comparison between the theory of Johannean authorship and that of second-century fabrication as solutions of the problems connected with the Gospel, the limitation put upon the use of the Apocalypse, in the present unsettled condition of its own literary questions, as an argument for or against the genuineness of the Gospel,—these things and the whole review of the most recent modifications of the old positions are opportune and valuable contributions to the subject. The series should be published in separate form. The volume also contains attractive papers on *Gideon* by the late Professor Elmslie, *Newman* by Principal Rainy, the *Book of Lamentations* by Dr Stalker, and others, together with book-notices by Professors A. B. Davidson and Dods. Nor should we omit Canon Cheyne's criticism of Dr Driver's *Introduction*, and Professor Ramsay's paper, based on personal examination of the localities, on St Paul's *First Journey to Asia Minor*.

The third yearly issue of the *Expository Times*<sup>2</sup> makes a large and handsome volume, rich in matter suitable to the needs of many different classes of readers, from the man of research down to the young members of the Sunday-school or Bible-class. The Editor's own "Notes of recent Exposition" always make interesting reading. Among the papers of higher order we may mention the series by Professor Ryle on the *Early Narratives of Genesis*—in every way admirable examples of the application of the newer

<sup>1</sup> The Expositor, Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. Fourth Series, Volume V. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. Svo., pp. 476. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> The Expository Times, Edited by the Rev. James Hastings, M.A. Volume the Third, October 1891—September 1892. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 568. Price 7s. 6d.

methods and results of historical study to the interpretation of the Old Testament; and the no less important series by Mr Pinches on the *Old Testament in the light of the literature of Assyria and Babylonia*. But amid such wealth and variety of matter it is impossible to particularise. The busy pastor who is left with little time for continuous study has large and wholesome provision made for him here, and others who, having little leisure, wish to keep themselves abreast as far as possible of what is being done in Bible studies, will find here very much what they want.

Among the Magazines we welcome the new series of *Mind* under the editorship of Mr G. F. Stout of St John's College, Cambridge, the July number of which well maintains the old reputation for thorough work both in the longer articles and in the briefer discussions and critical notices. The recent numbers of the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* contain several articles of importance. Among these may be found a study of the *Ethics of St Paul* by Von Soden, an elaborate paper by Harnack on the *Relation of the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel to the whole work*, and another by W. Hermann on the *Historical Christ the Ground of our Faith*. The Student of Dogmatic Theology will also find much to interest him in a couple of papers on some aspects of the doctrine of the *Resurrection of the Flesh*. One of these papers, by W. Haller, gives the history of the doctrine up to Tertullian's time; the other, by P. Lobstein, examines the doctrine itself as a point of Evangelical faith in the light of the New Testament. The *Revue de Theologie et des Questions Religieuses* is conducted with much spirit by the acting-editor, M. Henri Bois and his able associates M. M. Pédézet, J. Monod, Bruston, Wabintz, Doumergue, and Leenhardt. The fifth number has an elaborate study of the *Central Doctrine of the Reformers*, which M. Molines takes to be the Sovereignty of God. There is also a discussion by C. Malan of one of the great questions of the hour—that of *Authority*. The *Thinker* continues to furnish a remarkable abundance of useful matter by a great variety of hands. The surveys of current thought in America, Canada, Germany, and France are full of information, and make a valuable guide to the student. Among original papers which appear in the August and September numbers one by Professor Orr on the Ritschlian Theology, and another by Principal Reynolds on the *Earliest Contact of the Christian Faith with the Roman World* deserve special attention. The *Homiletic Review* appears in a new and more handsome form. Professor Schaff contributes a sketch of *Ochino* in the August issue. The sermonic section gives brief studies of great texts and much else that will be valued by the preacher and pastor. The *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* is conducted with marked ability, and deserves

a larger circulation in this country. No journal of the kind furnishes such a digest of current Theological literature. The original articles are also for the most part of a high order. The July number contains, among other papers, one of a very informing kind by Professor Gretillat, on the state of *Theological Thought among French Protestants*, an estimate of *Calvin as a Commentator* by Professor Schaff, and a careful study by Professor H. M. Scott of the attitude of the Apostolic Fathers to the writers of the New Testament books. Among the Editorial Notes we find one on Canon Driver's *Introduction*, written unfortunately from the standpoint of one who makes the whole question of our possession of a real revelation in the Bible depend upon the question of the composite authorship of the Pentateuch, but written at the same time with full acknowledgment of Canon Driver's eminent scholarship and reverence.

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